

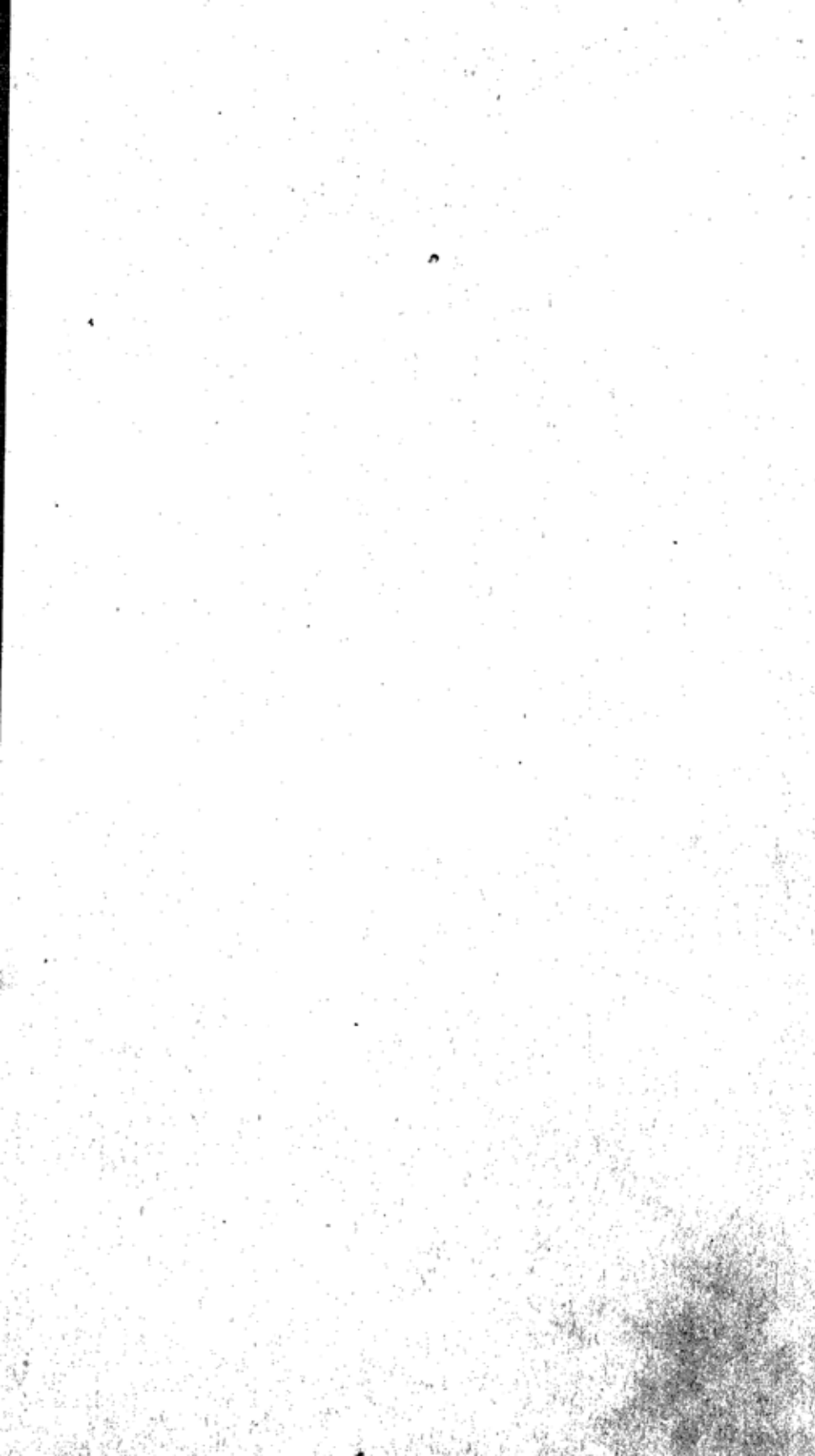
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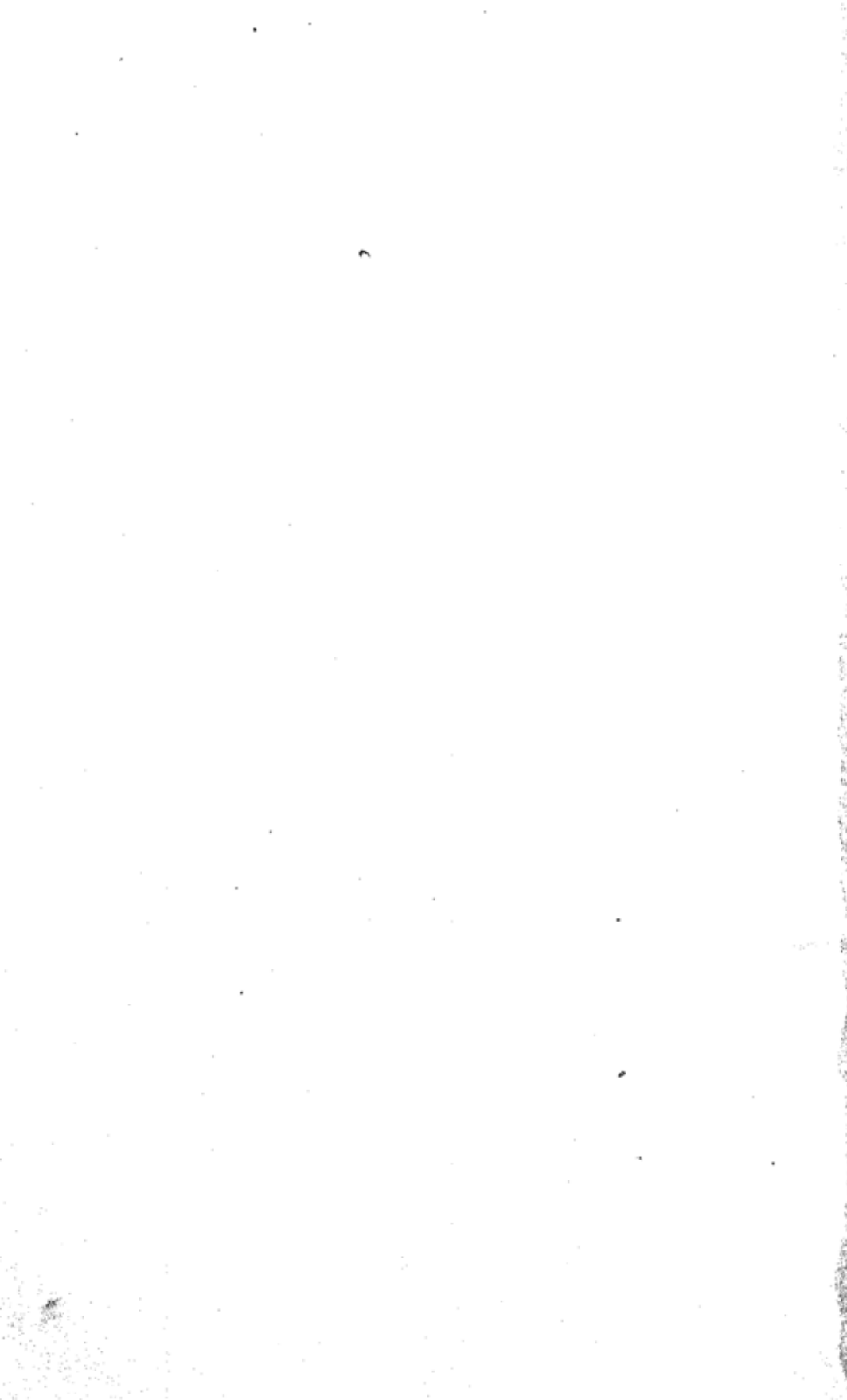
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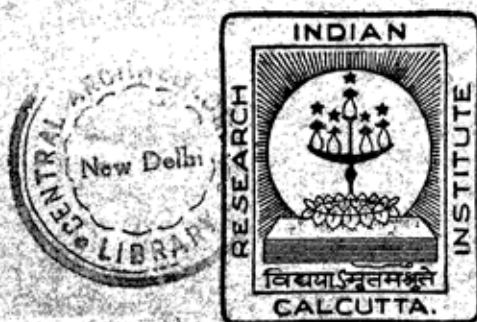
INDIAN CULTURE

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Vol. XV, Nos. 1-4 (July 1948—June 1949)

EDITED BY

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B. M. BARUA
COMMEMORATION VOLUME



082
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Published by
CHANDRA SEAL, M.A., B.L.,
HON. SECRETARY, THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
170 RAMESH DUTT STREET, CALCUTTA (INDIA)

OPINIONS ON THE 'INDIAN CULTURE'

Dr. R. L. Turner.—I must congratulate you on the continued publication of *Indian Culture* at such a high level of scholarship.

Dr. W. Stede.—The new magazine is a very admirable undertaking, embodying the best product of intellect of our Indian colleagues and fellow students. I cannot but pay the highest tribute of admiration to this new publication.

Dr. F. O. Schrader.—... admirable... shows the high standard which is expected of a scientific journal and astonishes one by the richness of its contents.

Mons. Louis Finot.—... full of interesting matter and forebodes a bright future. My best congratulations for this success!

Dr. M. Winternitz.—I congratulate you and your collaborators on the publication of No. 3 of *Indian Culture* which is again full of interesting matter relating to various branches of Indology.

Dr. Louis de la Vallée Poussin.—... contains many good things. I am much interested by the remarks of Prof. Winternitz on the Śramaṇa-Literature. It is the most interesting and useful journal for philosophy and history.

Dr. A. B. Keith.—It is a most interesting number and if the standard of achievement is maintained you will have secured a very valuable addition to the number of scholarly periodicals issued in India.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, C.I.E.—May I take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of your *Indian Culture* and my congratulations upon the completion of a whole volume, with Index and Table of Contents—a very important appendage? The volume contains a large number of articles of a scholarly and serious character and is a credit to India. Many of the authors of the articles are old friends of mine, and I would gladly plunge into the fray again, if I could only get free from my present entanglement in Central Asian studies. You have an army of capable contributors.

Dr. L. D. Barnett.—The *Indian Culture*, I am glad to see, still maintains the same high level of scholarly excellence.

Dr. J. Przyluski.—... Fine Journal.....

Dr. Th. Stcherbatsky.—A splendid issue.

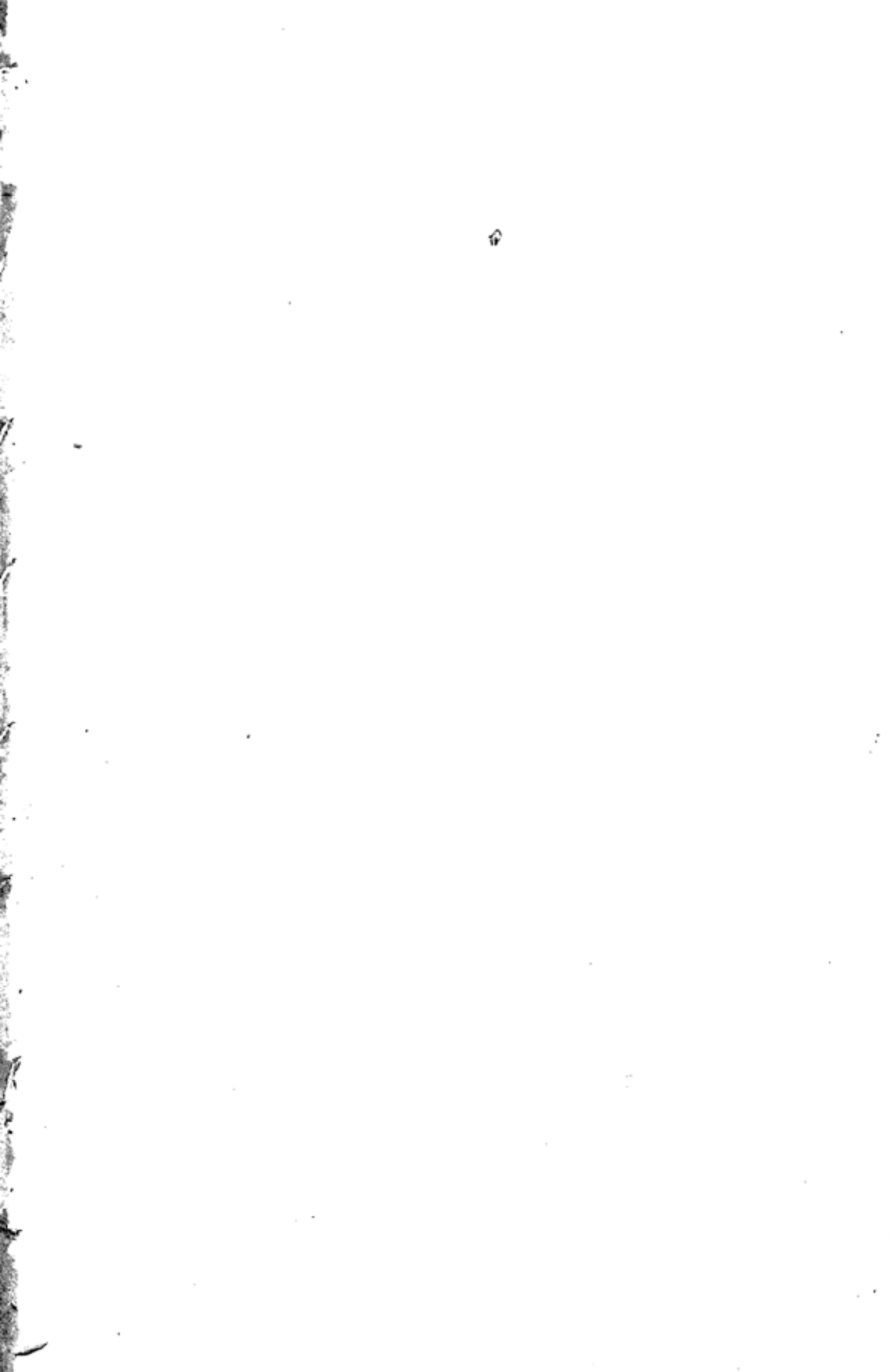
Mr. Charles E. A. W. Oldham.—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the standard being maintained by the *Indian Culture* and the success you have achieved with this Journal.

It is gratifying to notice how *Indian Culture* maintains its high level of scholarship and appears with such comparative regularity in the face of present-day difficulties.

Sir C. W. Gurner, I.C.S.—... a publication of a very high standard.

Director, Archaeological Department, Hyderabad-Deccan.—I congratulate you heartily on the excellence of the articles published in the first number and I hope the standard will be maintained under your able management.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society (Vol. IX, Part I, July, 1934).—This very admirable periodical will be welcomed all over the country by all those who are devoted to the promotion of research into the ancient history of India and her great culture. The excellent character of this new Journal and the high standard of articles published in it, and the enterprise and devotion of the group of the Bengali scholars seem to make *Indian Culture* rightly and completely fill the great void created by the unfortunate discontinuance of the great epoch-making Journal, the *Indian Antiquary*. This new Journal, three numbers of which are before us, shows itself to be first class scientific periodical by the richness of its contents. Like the *Indian Antiquary*, it is hoped that this Journal also will be an impartial forum to all devoted and inspiring workers under the capable editorship of the distinguished and veteran savant Dr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who is assisted by willing and brilliant scholars like Dr. Barua and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. We heartily congratulate the management of the Journal on the high standard of excellence that is attained and hope that by means of unsparing devotion it will be maintained. There is no doubt that its appearance is a valuable addition to the number of scholarly journals published





DR. B. M. BARUA.

B. M. BARUA

By H. C. RAYCHAWDHURI

The late Dr. Benimadhab Barua, who dominated the stage of Buddhistic studies in Bengal for more than quarter of a century, was born in 1888 in the village of Pahartali in the district of Chittagong. He had to struggle hard to educate himself. Beginning his career as Headmaster of a local school, he made himself conspicuous by his remarkable intelligence and assiduity. After completing a brilliant educational career in India he went over to England as a State Scholar to qualify himself for the degree of Doctor of Literature of the University of London. He was the first Indian to receive the degree from the University of the metropolis of Britain. A favourite student of T. W. Rhys Davids, Hobhouse, F. W. Thomas, and Barnett, he received invaluable help from them in his study of Indology, specially of Indian philosophy and religious history including Buddhism and Jainism. Although he used to take interest in different branches of Indology, his favourite subject was Indian philosophy and religion. Having received his doctorate he came back to India and was given the post of a Lecturer in the University of Calcutta. On account of his outstanding merits he soon rose to be the University Professor of Pāli having attracted the attention of the then Vice-Chancellor Sir Asutosh Mookerji. On account of his great scholarship and unrivalled mastery of the Pāli language and literature he shed lustre on his post which he held with credit up to the end of his life (March 1948). He was elected an Ordinary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in recognition of his conspicuous contributions to Buddhistic studies, he was awarded the Dr. B. C. Law Gold Medal by this Society. The title of *Tipiṭakācariya* was conferred on him by Vidyālaṅkāra Parivēṇa of Ceylon. He was one of the founder-editors of the *Indian Culture*, and spared no pains for its improvement. A great scholar, Dr. Barua was no less eminent as a fine gentleman. Sympathetic and catholic in his views, he had a keen sense of duty and responsibility. He was free from anger, self-conceit, narrow-mindedness and insincerity. On account of his genial nature and open-heartedness his circle of friends was wide.

His valuable writings bear ample testimony to his critical scholarship, wide reading, and sound judgment. Future generations of students and scholars will remember with gratitude his invaluable researches embodied in his published books and articles, a selected list of which is given below:—

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Books

1. A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy.
2. Prolegomena to a History of Buddhist Philosophy.
3. The Aṅvikas.
4. Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves.
5. Barhut Inscriptions (a critical edition with translation and notes).
6. Prakrit Dhammapada (a critical edition with translation and notes).
7. Gayā and Buddhagayā (in two volumes).
8. Bārhut (an authoritative work on the Stūpa of Bhārhut in three volumes).
9. Bauddhagranthakoṣa (Buddhist Encyclopaedia in Bengali), Vol. I.
10. Ceylon Lectures.
11. Inscriptions of Aśoka, Part I (a critical edition of the texts).
12. Inscriptions of Aśoka, Part II (translation and notes, 1945).
13. Aśoka and His Inscriptions (1946).
14. Brahmachārī Kuladānanda (a biography of the Bengali saint and of his Guru Sree Sree Vijoy Krishna Goswami, containing incidental references to many other contemporary saints).
15. Madhyama Nikāya (an authentic Bengali translation of the Pāli Majjhima Nikāya), Vol. I.
16. Bauddha Parinayapaddhati.
17. Philosophy of Progress.

Articles

1. A note on the Bhābru Edict (*JRAS.*, 1915).
2. Inscriptional Excursions, (a critical review of the studies in the inscriptions of Aśoka, *Indian Historical Quarterly*).
3. The Yerragudi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, subsequently revised (*I.H.Q.*).
4. The Sohghaura Copper-plate Inscription (*I.H.Q.*).
5. The Old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān (*I.H.Q.*).
6. The Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravēla, a revised edition (*I.H.Q.*).
7. The Minor Brāhmī Inscriptions of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri (*I.H.Q.*).
8. The Meher Copper-plate Inscription of Dāmodaradeva, (*Ep. Ind.*).
9. The Saugar Copper-plate Inscription of Trailokyavarman (*JBRAS*, 1947).
10. Forms, merits and defects of Aśoka's Inscriptions (*Indian Culture*).

11. Rāṣṭriya Vaiśya Puṣyagupta and Yavanarāja Tuṣāspa in Rudradāman's Inscriptions (*Indian Culture*).
12. Isitāla Taḍāga in Khāravela's Inscription (*I.C.*).
13. Identity of Asandhimittā and Kāluvākī (*I.C.*).
14. Indus Script and Tantric Code (*B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. II).
15. On the Edicts of Aśoka: Some points of interpretation (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*).
16. Genesis of the Books of Stories of Heaven and Hell—an appendix to Heaven and Hell by B. C. Law.
17. *Dharma Samuccaya*, a critical account of its contents and material, it being the Nepalese and latest recension of the Dhammapada (*I.C.*).
18. Bhela-saṃhitā discussing its historical importance (*I.C.*).
19. Cittaviśuddhi-prakarana—Its Pali basis (*I.C.*).
20. Gojener Lama, *Journal of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat*.
21. The Aṭṭhakavagga and Pārāyanavagga as two companion Pāli Anthologies, Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference.
22. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, a Blend of Old and New (a critical study of its contents and material—Bhārata-Kaumudī, Studies in Indology in honour of Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji).
23. Bāṅglā Sāhitya Śatavarser Bauddha Avadān (Journal of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad).
24. (a) An Assamese introduction to the Kavitākuñja (compiled by Mr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, M.A.).
(b) Kavi-paricaya in Assamese, a psychological analysis of the mind and art of Dimbeswar Beoḡi, a living poet.
25. Bhakti Sūtras of Sāṇḍilya, *Proceedings of the Second All-India Oriental Conference*.
26. Faith in Buddhism (B. C. Law, *Buddhistic Studies*, Vol. I).
27. Religions (other than Hindu), contributed to the *History of Bengal* to be published by the University of Dacca.
28. Universal Aspect of Buddhism (*Bauddha-prabhā*, magazine of the Buddha Society of Bombay, a presidential address).
29. Early Buddhism (*The Cultural Heritage of India, Śrī Ramkrishṇa Centenary Vol., I*).
30. Jinalogy and Buddhalogy (*Calcutta Review*).
31. Mahāyāna in the making (*Sir Asutosh Commemoration Volume III—Orientalia*).
32. Pratītyasamutpāda as the Basic Concept of Buddhist Thought (*B. C. Law Volume*, Pt. I).
33. The Rôle of Buddhism in Indian Life and Thought (*I.C.*, subsequently reproduced in the *Journal of the Mahābodhi Society*, it being the lecture delivered in a symposium of the Indian Philosophical Congress).

34. Buddha's Doctrine of the Mean (*I.C.*).
35. Buddhism and its psychological foundation, contributed to the *Twentieth Century India* to be published from U.S.A.
36. Thoughts on Progress (*Calcutta Review*) containing the dialectics of history and the formulation of the author's own philosophy.
37. India through the Greek Eye, cultural aspect (*The Nationalist*, Pujah Number, 1946).
38. Asia: Past and Present (*Modern Review*, 1947).
39. Asia, Prior to Western Supremacy, contributed to the *Indo-Iranica*, a quarterly journal of the Iran Society.
40. Viṣṇudāsa—A Vaiṣṇava Reformer of South India (*I.C.*).
41. Early Life of Gosāla (*Calcutta Review*).
42. Maṣkari—what it signifies (*I.H.Q.*).
43. Ājivika and Ājivikism (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*).
44. Vālmiki as he reveals himself in his poem (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, C.U., Vol. III) translated into Hindi by Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A.
45. Art as defined in the Brāhmaṇas (*I.C.*).
46. On the Antiquity of Image-worship in India (*Journal of the Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. XI, 1943).
47. The Bharhut Sculptures in the Museum of Allahabad Municipality, contributed to the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*.
48. National Shrines of the Vṛjīs (*I.C.*).
49. Aśoka's Examples: Their historical Importance, contributed to the *K. M. Munshi Volume* published from Bombay.
50. Aśoka's Example and Brahman Animosity, contributed to *Modern Review*.
51. Bodhgayā Sculptures (*I.C.*).
52. Buddhist Divinities as embodiments of the Thirty-seven constituents of Supreme knowledge (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VIII, 1940).
53. The Celestial luminaries in Aśoka's Rock Edict IV (*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VIII).
54. Five Reliefs from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*I.C.*).
55. Presidential address, Prakrit Section—Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Tirupati Session.
56. Trends in Ancient Indian History—Presidential address, section I of the Indian History Congress, Annamalai Nagar Session.
57. Two Buddhaghosas (*I.C.*).
58. Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa—Their contemporaneity and Age. (*University of Ceylon Review*).
59. The Year of Commencement of the Buddha Era (*University of Ceylon Review*).

PĀLI-MAHĀCARIYO VENĪ MĀDHAVO

By A. P. BUDDHADATTA

Mayhaṃ ācariyo Siri-Dhammādhāra-Rājaguru Mahāthero 1898 (A.D.) vassato upari katipaya-vassāni Kalikātā nagare vasi. Anagārika-Dhammapāla-mahāsaya pi tasmin kāle tattha vasi. Dhammānkura-vihāra-paṭiṭṭhāpako Kripāsaraṇa-Mahāthero pi tadā tasmin nagare vihāsi. Tasmin kāle Bhāratadese Buddhassa Bhagavato nāma-savaṇaṃ pi atidullabhaṃ ahosi. Tassa Bhagavato dhammo kīdiso ti pi Bhāratavāsino na jāniṃsu. Laṅkādīpo rakkhasa-pariggahito, tattha vāsikā manussamaṃsakhādakā rakkhasā ti te maññiṃsu. Tādise kāle ime dve therā, sogato Dhammapālo ca tattha vasantā Sogatadhammapacārāya ussaḥaṃ akāṃsu.

Puna pi mamācariyo 1915—pamāṇe kāle katipayavassāni Ravindanātha Thākurena mahākavinā paṭiṭṭhāpite Sāntiniketana-mahāvijjālaye Pālibhāsā c'eva Buddhadhammaṃ ca uggaṇhāpento vasi. Tasmin kāle so mahāthero Kalikātā-vissavijjālaye Pālibhāsā uggaṇhapetabbā ti vadanto tadā tasmin vijjālaye pālakabhūtassa Āsutosā Mukhopādhyāyanāmassa mantino lekhanāni pesetvā sam-mukhī hutvā ca nānākāraṇāni dassesi. Kripāsaraṇatthero Dhammapālo ca tassa tasmin ussāhe upatthambhakā ahesuṃ.

Āsutosā Mukhopādhyāya vinicchayāmacco pana dūradassī kāruniko mahāpañño ahosi. So Buddhadhammassa anagghabhavaṃ Pālibhāsāya ca Magadhadese pātubhūtattaṃ ſiatvā attano vissavijjālaye Pālibhāsuggaṇhāpanaṃ paṭṭhapesi. Tadā Venī Mādhavo mānavako Kripāsaraṇamahātherassa sisso mama ācariyato pi Pālibhāsaṃ uggaḥetvā tṭhito vissavijjālaye Pāliācariyaṭṭhānaṃ labhi. Tato pacchā tena paṇḍitena Pālibhāsāya ca Buddhadhammassa ca pacāraṇatthāya katakiccāni Jambudīpikā sādhitaraṃ jānanti; na pana te mayā vitthāretabbā.

1925 me vasse ahaṃ aññehi dvīhi sambhāvanīyehi mahāthera-varehi saddhim suddhaṭṭānāni passitum vanditum ca Jambudīpaṃ sampāpuṇim. Yādāhaṃ Kalikātā nagare Dhammarājika-vihāraṃ sampatto tadā eso Venī Mādhavo tatthāgantvā Siri-Dhammādhārattherassa sisso esoti sutvā ativiya pamudito mayā saddhim sallapi. Tadā so Buddhaghosa-Buddhadattānaṃ aṭṭhakathācariyānaṃ samakālikataṃ paṭicca mayā sākacchaṃ akāsi. Buddhadatto Buddhaghosassa aṭṭhakathākaraṇato pure yeva Sihalatṭhakathā uggaṇhitvā nātivitthāravasena saṅgaḥetvā Vinayavinicchaya-abhidhammavātāre akāsi, na pana te ganthā Buddhaghosassa aṭṭhakathā anugantvā katā ti tassa matī, yaṃ ahaṃ pi sampāṭicchāmi.

Tato pacchā 1944 me vasse mahācariyo Venī Mādhavo Lankādīpaṃ sampāpuni Buddhadhammavisayakaṃ desanaṃ kātum.

Laṅkāḍīpaṃ sampattadivasato paṭṭhāya eso mahācariyo maṃ passitun ativiya ussukko ahosi ti aññāsīṃ. Ahaṃ pi Kolambanagaram gantvā tassa desanaṃ sutvā punadivase tassa ārādhanaṃ paṭicca tassa tāvakālīka-vasanaṭṭhānaṃ agamāsīṃ. So atipamudito maṃ vanditvā ekaghaṭikāmatṭaṃ kālaṃ mayā sākaccham karonto nisīdi. Tato pacchā pi Laṅkāviṣṣavijjālayena muddāpīte temāsika-sangahe mayā pākāṭikataṃ Buddhaghosacaritaṃ nīnuttamaṃ katvā attano matīṃ pakāsetvā lekhaṇaṃ likhi.

Idāni tassa mahācariyassa bahavo sissā santi Pālijānanakā; tehi bhavantehi attano ācariyaṃ anugantvā tena ārdhāni kiccāni niṭṭhāpetabbāni, aññāni pi pariyesana-mūlaka-kiccāni ārabhitabbāni ti nivedemi. Tathā hi so mahācariyo sakasissehi garukato mānito pūjito ca bhavissati, na aññathā.

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BUDDHA'S LAST MEAL

By E. J. THOMAS

The subject of this note is one that would have been highly suitable for the abilities of the scholar whose loss we are now deploring.

The meaning of *sūkaramaddava*, the food eaten by Buddha at his last meal, has often been debated. My immediate purpose, however, is not to discuss modern theories, but rather to ask what we may take to have been the conclusions of the earliest commentators. These are Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* (4. 18) and Dhammapāla on the same passage, as it occurs in his commentary on *Udāna*, VIII, 5. Their comments consist of two parts, that in which they set forth their own views and that in which they record the views of others.

Buddhaghosa's words are: *Sūkaramaddavan ti nātitaruṇassa nālijinṇassa ekajettḥaka-sūkarassa pavattamamsam. Tam kira muduñ c'eva siniddhañ ca hoti. Tam patiyādāpetvā sādhuḥkaṃ pacāpetvā ti attho.* This tells us that the substance was the fresh flesh at an excellent boar, neither too young nor too old, that it was held to be soft and oily, and that Cunda caused it to be prepared and well cooked.

Dhammapāla gives the same information in a more concise form, but he makes an important addition by telling us that the explanation comes from the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*. It is probable that all our real information goes back to this lost commentary. His words are: *Sūkaramaddavan ti sūkarassa mudu siniddhaṃ pavattamamsan ti. Mahā-aṭṭhakathāyaṃ vuttam.* Buddhaghosa has merely expanded this, and there can be little doubt that he as well as Dhammapāla drew his information from the old commentary. We may form the important conclusion that neither of them knew more about the matter than what they found in this commentary, and there they found that it was boar's flesh. There is no reason to think that they knew more than what the commentary told them. They were living in South India or Ceylon, several centuries after the event, and what they knew depended on the tradition preserved in the commentaries, and not upon any knowledge of the preparation of food in the time of Buddha.

The word in question does not simply mean boar's flesh, but in the view of the commentators some confection made from it by cooking. This gave the opportunity to seek for other interpretations. Dr. Waldschmidt in his important discussion of the question says that already among the old native commentators a great uncertainty

prevails about the meaning of *sūkaramaddavaṃ*.¹ This is scarcely a fair statement of the problem. The two oldest commentators are not uncertain. They are in agreement, and it is clear that they state definitely that it was boar's flesh. They record the views of others, which they reject. Buddhaghosa himself does not seem to have known of them, as the passage in his commentary recording them does not occur in the oldest MS., and that this is not an accidental omission, but a later addition to the text is shown by the fact that in one MS. it has been added in brackets. Consequently we cannot suppose that the matter is very old, even if it is as old as Buddhaghosa. The words are: *Sūkara-maddavaṃ ti pana mudu-odanassa pañca-gorasa-yūsa-pācana-vidhānassa nāma' etaṃ yuthā gava-pānaṃ nāma pāka-nāmaṃ. Keci bhaṇanti: sūkaramaddavaṃ nāma rasāyanavidhi, taṃ pana rasāyana-satthe āgacchati. Taṃ Cundena Bhagavato parimibbānaṃ na bhaveyyā ti, rasāyanam paṭiyattan ti.* Here we have two interpretations: (1) that it was soft rice prepared according to a method of cooking with the five products of the cow, and (2) that it was a kind of *rasāyana* such as occurs in the *rasāyana-śāstras*. *Rasāyana* is well known in Sanskrit. Böhtlingk in his shorter Dictionary explains it as an elixir, a class of substances intended to strengthen the organism, to revive it, and to give long life. That this is meant here is shown by the further statement that Cunda had prepared it in order that the Nirvāṇa of the Lord should not take place, i.e. in order that he should continue to live.

The text of the corresponding passage in the Udāna commentary is in a sad state. The editor puts the correct reading *rasāyanan ti* in the margin, and gives as the text the meaningless *rasāyantana ti*. He appears to suggest in a note that this is meant for *rasāyatana ti*, and it is probable that this is what the scribe intended to write, but here it makes no sense. The following words show that an elixir or strengthening drug was meant: 'They say that Cunda having heard that the Lord will today attain Nirvāṇa, thought that surely after having eaten it he would live longer, gave it from a desire that the Master should live long.'

Why should these views have arisen? They are in contradiction not only with the older view but with one another. Dr. Waldschmidt suggests that they are due to the objection to flesh-eating in some schools. This objection is quite clear in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*. This is not an early sūtra, but it may quite well have existed in the time of Buddhaghosa. There is however no indication of this motive in the commentaries.

The view that the food was a preparation of milk and rice admits of another explanation. Later on, in the sutta the

¹ *Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Göttingen, 1939.

mention of this meal, Buddha's last meal, is brought into comparison with his last meal before his enlightenment. Both of them are said to be alms of greater fruit and blessing than any others. As the meal before his enlightenment was an elaborate preparation of milk, it would not be surprising for a commentator to explain the last meal as being of the same kind, but it does not appear how this could be an explanation of *sūkaramaddava*. The view also that it was *rasāyana* is no explanation. Even if Cunda's motive had been the wish to give a strengthening elixir, it tells us nothing about the nature of the substance or its name.

The two remaining explanations mentioned by Dhammapāla both rest on the view that the substance was something vegetable:— (1) *sūkarehi maddita-vamsa-kalīro*, sprout of bamboo made soft by boars, and (2) *sūkarehi maddita-padese jātaṃ ahicchattakam*, mushroom grown in a place made soft by boars. The last has been a favourite explanation of modern expounders. Rhys Davids said it was truffle, apparently because he knew that both truffles and mushrooms are fungi. But the picturesque name *ahicchattaka*, 'snake-umbrella', proclaims that it was not like truffle an underground fungus.

We are thus left with the view of the earliest commentator that the substance was a preparation of boar's flesh. The two oldest extant commentators accept this view. The other theories recorded are some of them absurd, and probably not old, as Buddhaghosa does not appear to have heard of them. Neither he nor Dhammapāla knew much, but it was probably all that was known in South India some eight centuries after the event. One gap in the evidence still remains. What was the word used in Sanskrit versions of the Canon? We may guess that it was *sūkara-mārdava*. The researches of Dr. Waldschmidt carry the matter a little further. He has been collecting all the remains of the Sanskrit version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* as well as those preserved in Tibetan and Chinese versions, and has translated the account of Buddha's last meal from the Sarvāstivādin *Dirghāgama*. The translation of the Chinese words is given by Dr. Waldschmidt as *Sandel (Baum) pilze*, 'sandal-wood mushroom'. The Chinese translator has not tried to translate the Sanskrit word, but has taken the interpretation which he found current, probably in a Sarvāstivādin school, and which almost agrees with the *ahicchattaka* recorded by Dhammapāla.

WAS THERE ANY VAISHNAVA SECT IN EXISTENCE IN THE GUPTA PERIOD?

By D. R. BHANDARKAR

Though there are many Paramabhāgavatas especially among the Gupta Princes, it was not clear whether there was any Vaishṇava sects flourishing in the Gupta period. The Vaishṇava sects that were well known were those of Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka, Vallabha and so on. But they all arose from the 11th century onwards. In fact, no scholar has shown on epigraphic evidence that there was any Vaishṇava sect in existence before the 11th century. In the course of my study of the Gupta Inscriptions, I happened to light upon an epigraphic record found at Tuṣām in the Punjab and belonging to the 4th or 5th century A.D., which speaks apparently of a Sātvata sect. It records the benefactions of *Āchārya* Somatrāta, who was the younger brother of *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya* Yaśastrāta (II). The latter pertained to the Gotama *gotra* and was a son of *Āchārya* Vasudatta born of Rāvaṇī. Whether Rāvaṇī was an individual name of his mother it is difficult to say. But Rāvaṇī seems to be a metronymic, Rāvaṇa being a branch of the Vaśiṣṭha *gotra*. At any rate, the very fact that Yaśastrāta (II) is said to belong to the Gotama *gotra* is enough to show that this family of *Āchāryas* was Brāhmaṇ by caste. Vasudatta's father was Yaśastrāta (I), and this Yaśastrāta was a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva), to whom, we are told, the Yōga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas had come down through many generations. This makes it quite clear that this family of *Āchāryas* were not only Brāhmaṇ by caste but were adherents of the Sātvata sect with its peculiar type of Yoga. This receives a most welcome confirmation from the *Sātvata-saṁhitā*, the contents of which have been so admirably summed up by R. G. Bhandarkar. Rāmānuja also sums it up succinctly as follows: 'That this worship of that which is of a four-fold nature means worship of the highest Brahman, called Vāsudeva, is declared in the *Sātvata-saṁhitā*: "This is the supreme-Śāstra, the great Brahmōpanishad, which imparts true discrimination to the Brāhmans worshipping the real Brahman, under the name of Vāsudeva." ' That highest Brahman, called Vāsudeva, having for its body the complete aggregate of the six qualities, divides itself in so far as it is either the 'subtle' (*Sūkshma*), or 'division' (*vyūha*), or 'manifestation' (*vibhava*), and is attained in its fullness by the devotees who, according to their qualifications, do worship to it by means of works guided by knowledge. From the worship of the Vibhava-aspect one attains to the *vyūha*, and from the worship of the *vyūha*,

one attains to the 'Subtle' called Vāsudeva, i.e. the highest Brahman—such is their doctrine. By the *vibhava* we have to understand the aggregate of beings, such as Rāma, Kṛishna, etc., in whom the highest Being becomes manifest; by the *vyūha* the fourfold arrangement or division of the highest Reality, as Vāsudēva, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; by the 'Subtle' the highest Brahman itself, in so far as it has for its body the mere aggregate of the six qualities—as such it is called 'Vāsudēva'. R. G. Bhandarkar's summary of the *Sātvata-saṁhitā* supports the above statement in every way and supplements it in one respect. The most important point is that the Brahmōpanishad, the highest Śāstra, reveals itself to a qualified Brāhmaṇ only, when he worships Vāsudēva as Brahman. The second important point noticeable in his summary is that 'this Śāstra along with Rahasya is fruitful to those who have gone through Yōga with its eight parts and whose soul is devoted to mental sacrifice. The Yōgins, who are Brāhmaṇs guided by the Vedas and who have given up the mixed worship, are competent for the worship of the—single one, dwelling in the heart.' Thus the second important point noteworthy about the Sātvata sect is that there is a special type of Yōga connected with it. Now, both these points are noticeable about the Sātvata sect described in the Tuśām record. The Āchāryas of this sect are all Brāhmaṇs and belonged to the Gōtama *gōtra*. Secondly, the first of these Āchāryas named Yaśastrāta is described not only as a devotee of Bhagavat (Vāsudēva) but also as 'one to whom the Yōga practice of the Ārya Sātvatas had come down through many generations.' After this agreement in important points, can there be any doubt that there was a Vaishnava sect called the Sātvatas which was in existence in the Gupta period? Further, we have to note that this Sātvata sect was, in regard to the order of succession, more akin to the Vallabhachārī where the succession was from father to son than to the Rāmānuja, Madhva or Nimbārka where the succession was from Saṁnyāsī teacher to Saṁnyāsī pupil.

ROBERT ORME AT MADRAS 1754-58

By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Robert Orme has been deemed the *British Thucydides* and the 'Father of Oriental History'. He was born at Anjengo, the southernmost English factory on the Malabar Coast, and celebrated as the birth-place of Sterne's *Eliza*. He was the son of Dr. Alexander Orme, who was Physician and Surgeon on the Bombay Establishment and subsequently rose to be the Chief of that settlement. After a period of schooling at Harrow, Robert was apprenticed in the Office of the African Company and subsequently, after a year of service in a Calcutta firm, was appointed to East India Company's service as a Writer in the Bengal Presidency in 1743. During his early service days, Orme composed the first and second books of his 'General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan' which was later published in his 'Historical Fragments' (1782). The Calcutta Council had a high opinion of his abilities and in 1752 asked him to formulate his views on the reform of the police and the municipal administration of that Presidency. When he visited England in 1753-54, he communicated his views as to French ambitions in India and the necessity of resolutely prosecuting the war in the Indian Peninsula with all vigour, to the Secretary of State, Lord Holderness.

Orme returned to India in 1754, having been appointed a Member of the Council of Fort St. George. Here he remained for about five years, and retired under a cloud. While at Madras he did some useful work, but spoiled, by his own acts, his reputation for honesty and straightforwardness. He had a conceit as to his own superior literary attainments and was proud that he was often called upon to draft important letters for the Madras Council, like the one dated Fort St. George, 20th August, 1756, exhorting Admiral Watson¹ to proceed with the King's Ships for the recovery of Calcutta (the greater part of this letter is printed in S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, pp. 199-200), and that dated Fort St. George, 3rd September, 1756, exhorting Colonel Adlercron to proceed with his regiment for the recovery of Calcutta. An instance of his conceit which he had already developed, even at Calcutta, is seen in the letter from James Repington to Clive, dated Trivady (Tiruvati in the South Arcot District), 22nd February, 1753, in which the latter is complimented for having Orme as a companion

¹ Orme is said to have written a poem on the death of the Admiral, in 1757 and pinned it on a blank leaf in one of his books.

for his coming voyage to England. It proceeds thus: 'I think Palk and you call him Cicero. If he's like the honest Roman of that name I can't pay you greater compliment than by quoting a sentence out of Quintilian, "*Hoc prepositum sit nobis exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit*," and I must conceive a good opinion of Mr. Orme because he's esteemed by two gentlemen for whose judgment I have a profound veneration.' Orme was weak, like his companions in general, and hankered after both speedy promotion and a quickly amassed fortune. Unfortunately he resorted to very dubious means for realizing them; nor was he particularly fast and faithful to friends, though his friendship for Clive persisted undiminished in vigour for a number of years. Colonel Alexander Heron had asked Orme to act as his representative at Madras during his absence on an expedition to Madura and Tinnevely (1755); but in one of Orme's lengthy letters to John Payne, a Director of the Company, dated Madras, 26th October, 1755, we come across expressions of considerable personal spite of the Colonel. In another letter dated Madras, February 9, 1757, describing the troubles in Tinnevely, caused by Mahfuz Khan, Orme says that at the request of the Council, he personally drew up the charges upon which Colonel Heron was tried by a Court Martial, after dismissal from the service, and rendered incapable of serving the Company any longer.

To facilitate his rise in official favour, Orme did not scruple to criticize his seniors, especially Governor Pigot, in his private letters to John Payne, Deputy Chairman and Chairman of the Court of Directors; Payne no doubt was the prime sinner, but Orme had to be the greater sufferer by this action. Suspicions of Orme's conduct soon leaked out; he was subjected to a kind of social ostracism; charges of corruption were brought against him; and he had to resign his post and leave the country at the very moment when his succession to the Governorship had been sanctioned by the Directors. The only extenuating plea in favour of Orme's action is that such unholy alliances were then only too common between the Directors in London and their servants in India.

Colonel Davison Love describes the charges of corruption against Orme and also shows, however, after his return to England, the Directors expressed themselves assured that he had extorted large sums from the Nawab (see Vol. II of *Vestiges of Old Madras*).

Thus Orme's letter to Payne, dated Madras, 26th October, 1765, is prefaced as containing 'Characters of the Council, *entre nous*, nothing else very material, confidential.' In that letter he describes 'as a matter of duty' (1), the characters of Messrs. Lawrence, whom he describes as 'honourable but vain', Saunders as 'oversharp', Palk as 'intriguing and fond of money', Bouchier as 'sensible but weak and choleric', Wynch as 'prejudiced and violent'; says that

Clive had made a fortune of £40,000 as 'contractor to victual the army' at the rate of six *fanams* a man each day, and that the rate which was afterwards reduced to four *fanams*, still left a great profit; 'Cabal in Council against Saunders, headed by Lawrence and Palk; Pigot's extraordinary deference for Lawrence; much personal spite shown in the condemnation of Colonel Heron' (a greater part of the letter is printed in H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, pages 484 *et seq.*).

In another letter dated 2nd November, 1766, Orme explained the real reason for the attack on Calcutta by Siraj-ud-Dowlah, in 1756, ascribing it 'either to the private instigation of Hukm Beg or Coja Wajid or to the Nawab's eagerness to please the army by giving it the plunder of the richest town in Bengal.' He praised Holwell and condemned Drake for their conduct and—what is really very cunningly suggestive—concluded by saying that on account of his bad health he would not be able to accept nomination to be the President for Bengal. 'My constitution, which thro' my applications is now loaded with infirmities even in this the best of climates will render me utterly incapable of being of any service in that of Bengal which is the very worst.' In yet another communication, dated the day following that of the previous one, Orme really claimed for himself the entire credit and merit of arranging that Clive should command the expedition to Bengal, and maintained that Pigot, at his best, was of use to support him and Clive. Both of them—(designedly perhaps)—considered that the loss of Calcutta deprived Drake and his colleagues of their appointments as members of the Select Committee in Bengal; but Governor Pigot and the rest of the Madras Council were not of this opinion and held that the representatives of the Select Committee should continue to function. When Clive failed to return with his troops from Bengal to Madras after the events of 1756, Orme thus observed: (Letter dated Madras, July 6, 1757), 'The prevalence of Clive's genius is, by what I have observed of it, to be fighting; that he is not averse to advantages is certain, and if both these prospects have united I am no longer surprised that he (has) lost his reason on this occasion.' In another letter to Payne, Orme suggests that Pigot was weak to deal with the Marathas and sketched his own ideas as to what should be done with Mysore and the Nawab in their mutual wrangling over Trichinopoly in 1757. Regarding Nawab Muhammad Ali, Orme says: 'I know not whether such double-dealing may square with the politics of Europe, but in Asia nothing but dissimulation will do. In my private character, I pity no man on Earth so sincerely as I do this Nabob. He has cunning but no sense—cunning to make shifts, not sense nor courage to form a plan. He wants to spend like a Nabob at a time when he should withdraw his splendour to assume it some years hence with certainty. Still he is a Prince,

and these avulsions from his State tear his pride to pieces—He is an object of compassion.'

That Clive and Orme had an unavowed secret understanding is seen from the letter of the latter to Lord Holdernessee, dated, Madras, November 15, 1757, in which he writes: 'Col. Clive has made his fortune at Bengal and writes to me that he is no longer a cross to my views in the succession to this (Madras Government)'.¹

But while Orme was indulging in these hopes and insinuating himself into favour with the authorities at Home, Pigot at Madras became increasingly suspicious of Orme, who, in turn, shrewdly suspected that Payne might have communicated some of his remarks to the Governor. The misunderstanding between Pigot and Orme reached its climax when the former openly accused the latter, at a Council Meeting, of seeking presents from the Nawab, as well as of cowardly conduct in wishing to leave Madras, when the Presidency was threatened with an attack by Lally. Even according to Hill, who has a partiality for Orme, the fact that Orme was known to have acted as a spy upon his colleagues was the real reason of Pigot's enmity which brought about his own early retirement from the Company's service. Orme's failure in his game is attributed to bad health and weak character on which his friends looked with dismay. Clive had indeed warned Orme that with reference to his leaving Madras he would be charged with cowardice.

The sequel of Orme's spying upon his colleagues and reporting to Payne was thus a natural and quick retribution. Orme cherished strong hopes of succeeding Pigot as Governor; but his indiscretion and espionage having leaked out, he was ostracized socially by Pigot, Lawrence and others. Soon after the Company's Despatch arrived at Madras, September, 1758, which nominated Orme to succession to the Governorship after Pigot, the latter preferred two charges against him in open Council. The first related to his

¹ 'During Clive's absence in the field, it was Orme who looked after his private business as well as his interests at head-quarters. So again, later on, when in 1756 it was proposed to send an expedition to Bengal, Clive and Orme acted in unison in the Council, and it was apparently on Orme's suggestion that Pigot chose Clive to take the command, and when Clive went, it was to Orme that he entrusted the care of his wife and of his private affairs. Then comes the first hint of difference. Clive refuses to return to Madras, and, worse still, refuses to send back the Madras troops. Orme suspects that his unexpectedly great success has turned his head, and that he is carried away by his desire for wealth and his passion for fighting. However, explanations are forthcoming. Clive's departure to Bengal had cleared the way for Orme's possible accession to the governorship of Madras and the breach is healed. Orme returns to England, whither he is followed not long after by Clive. The old friendship is renewed, and in 1763 the first volume of History is produced probably in close collaboration, but gradually the equality and friendship disappears.' (*India Office Library*.—*'European MSS. in—Vol. II, Part I; Orme Collection'*—by S. C. Hill (1916), Introduction—pages xxx and xxxi.)

preparation to remit his fortune to England in Dutch bills and to take his passage for Europe in the *Grantham*, shortly before the expected French siege of Madras. These acts betrayed a weakness of character on which his friends like Clive looked with dismay as it was openly condemned as cowardice by his enemies. (2) A more serious charge was that, soon after the news of succession to the Governorship after Pigot's retirement had reached Madras, Orme had addressed a letter to the Nawab on his new prospects. He sent for the Nawab's vakil several times, stressed on the services he had rendered to the Nawab and said that he should be rewarded generously, or else he would put the management of the greatest part of the Nawab's territories into hands that would gratify him in the manner he desired.

Pigot made a statement in the Council that Orme mentioned in his letter to the Nawab his prospective accession to the Governorship; and that 'in whatever light he (the Nabob) might look upon the Governor, Colonel Lawrence and other gentlemen, he only was his particular friend; that it was he who had espoused his cause and prevented the management of his affairs going into other hands than his (the Nabob's); that he could have had sixty thousand pagodas from Teterapah Moodilly (Titarappa Mudali, Renter) if he would have farmed out to him the countries to the southward of Trichinopoly, and that Issoff Cawn (Yusuf Khan) would have given him forty thousand pagodas to have rented from him the countries of Seringham (Srirangam) and Trichinopoly. But that, notwithstanding it was in his power by the sway he had in the Council, to put this in execution, his desire of rendering the Nabob service made him decline it, not in the least doubting but the Nabob would make him a suitable acknowledgment:' (Madras Consultations of 25th September, 1758).

To this personal request the Nawab is said to have replied that his purse was at the time depleted; but he hoped, in a year or two, to be able to meet Mr. Orme's wishes. Thereupon, Orme became irritated and left the Nawab abruptly, declaring that he would take the necessary measures for putting the management of the country into other hands, if the sum he demanded was not immediately paid down. The Nawab felt insulted at this threat beyond measure and told Orme that his visit had lasted long enough and he was free to do as he pleased.

When these two charges were brought against him, Orme replied that, with regard to the first charge, his health was the main consideration for determining his departure, but the motive for his departure from the coast was not dishonourable. He totally denied the allegation of the Nawab that he (Orme) had made any stipulation, directly or indirectly, for any reward from him (the Nawab); and he maintained that the letter which he is said to have written to

the Nawab was an absolute forgery. Finally he said that, rather than suffer under such imputations, he would forthwith resign the service of the Company. (Fort St. George Consultations, 25th September, 1758.)

Three days later, the inquiry began concerning the letter that Orme was alleged to have written to the Nawab. The Nawab confirmed the statement made by Pigot and in the Council and added that Orme had demanded 20,000 pagodas and said, emphatically and definitely, that he would not take even one pagoda less. The Nawab was accompanied on the occasion by his *vakil*, Antaji Pantulu. He asserted that Orme's note was delivered to him by Sunka Rama Junior, his dubash. Sunka Rama Junior, who was then questioned denied at first all knowledge of the note; but when he was made to face Antaji Pantulu, he admitted that he had indeed drafted and delivered the document, though without the knowledge of his master. The Madras Council decided that Orme's taking his passage for Europe on the eve of the French siege of Madras was 'an ill-timed step and unbecoming the station he bore in the Company's service.' With regard to his alleged note to the Nawab, the Council was of the opinion that though there was no actual proof of Orme having sent the note, it was 'extraordinary and unaccountable that Sunka Rama should have without his knowledge written it and delivered to the Nawab, along with an oral communication.'

On the question of the actual demand by Orme of a large sum from the Nawab, the testimony of the Nawab and his *vakil* appeared to the Council to be strong and clear; and the Board resolved that it 'had the greatest reason to believe that part of the charge at least was just and true.'

The Directors at Home decided, in November 1759, that Orme was a very unfit person to continue in their service. But since the ship in which he had embarked was captured by the French near the Cape of Good Hope, all the documents that she conveyed were lost and never reached the Company. Though the Directors then expressed their opinion that they were assured that Orme had extracted large sums from the Nawab, after a few years they condoned his behaviour at Madras and appointed him as Historiographer to the Company. Such was the shortness of memories in those days of intensive jobbery and political corruption.

Mr. S. C. Hill thus sums up what he deems a just verdict of Orme's conduct: 'It is to be regretted that no further information is to be found in connection with the charge of corruption brought against him by Pigot, more especially as the Court of Directors resolved that he had extorted large sums of money from the Nawab. Still the decision of the Court is not sufficient to convince one of Orme's guilt, when one remembers his comparative poverty at the

time of his retirement, the unscrupulous character of the Nawab, the submission of the charges against Orme through and by his enemies in the Madras Council, and, finally, the fact that the Court took no action on its own resolution.'¹

Orme was conscious of his lapses since he wrote to Payne, on November 17, 1757, from Madras, as if in partial extenuation of himself: 'I know not whether such double-dealing may square with the politics of Europe, but in Asia, nothing but dissimulation will do.'

Too late, Orme wrote, in November 1767, to Colonel Joseph Smith, when opining that he would have preferred the English allying themselves with Haidar Ali, rather than with the Nizam, and advised him to avoid the receipt of presents 'as the bane of every reputation in India'.

It is amusing to read that S. C. Hill thus upholds the fair name of Orme—'The decisive reason why Orme laid down his pen (when he had brought down his History to 1761) was the disgraceful conduct of many of the successors of Saunders, Pigot, Lawrence and Coote. He (Orme) had lived amongst heroes in an Age of Iron and had told their story in language which did honour both to himself and them; it was not fitting that he should describe how lesser men thought that in the misery of the country they had found an Age of Gold.'² One may ask: 'What did Clive, Orme's hero, do in the Age of Gold? What did Orme himself do in the Age of Iron?'³

¹ Page xxi, Introduction to Vol. II, Part I, *Orme Collection*.

² Page xxxv of Hill's Introduction to *Orme Collection*.

³ Refer to Orme's Mission to Murtaza Ali of Vellore early in 1756. The mission failed. What was the cause of the failure? (pp. 99-100 of C. S. Srinivasachari—*Vignettes from the History of the Walajahi Dynasty of the Carnatic, 1744-1856*).

THE VIŠNUKUṆḌINS

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Five copper plates are all the evidence we have on this ancient dynasty of eastern Deccan, there being hardly any references to them in the contemporary charters of other dynasties. I shall discuss the genealogy and the history of this line briefly as they have given rise to differences of opinion among scholars for which indeed, it will appear soon, there is really little justification. I shall start with setting forth the primary data:

CHIKKUḶĀ PLATES.¹

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, performed 11 *aśvamedhas* and 1,000 *kratus*—Sarva-medha, Bahusuvārṇa, Puṇḍarika, Puruṣamedha, Vājapeya, Yuddhyaśoḍaśi, Rājasūya, Prādhirāja and Prājāpatya being named.

Vikramendravarman (Viṣṇukuṇḍi Vākāṭa varṇśadvayālamkāra Jannā).

Mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, scattered his kinsmen by mere contraction of eye-brows,—Anekacaturdanta samara Sanghaṭṭa Vijayī; founded *ghaṭikas* and gave away much wealth, a Paramamāheśvara.

Mahārāja Vikramendravarman, eldest son had all kingly qualities even in infancy, Paramamāheśvara gave in 10th year *vi*. Regonram, S.E. of Ravi-
reva on the Krishnavenna to Śiva temple from camp at Vijaya-Leṇḍulūra. (Seal lion standing to proper right with a fore-paw raised.)

THE RĀMATĪRTHAM PLATES.²

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, worshipper of Lord of Śrī Parvata, ornament of Viṣṇukuṇḍins, performed eleven *aśvamedhas* and 1,000 other sacrifices.

Vikramendravarman, ornament of two families (not named).

Indravarman, a Paramamāheśvara Anekacaturdanta-samara sanghaṭṭa-vijayī; Donated from camp at Puranīsamgama in 27th year of reign *vi*. Peruvāṭaka in Plakirāṣṭra to a Brahmin. (Seal lion advancing to proper right with left fore-paw raised.)

¹ EI. IV, 193-8 (Kielhorn).

² EI. XII, pp. 133-6 (Hultzsch).

ĪPŪR, I.¹

Mahārāja Govindavarman, worshipper of Lord Śrīparvata, member of Viṣṇukunḍin family and a devotee of *dharma* besides being liberal donor of cows, land, and gold.

Mādhavavarman—Hiranyagarbha prasūta, Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya nandanah; performer of 11 *āsvamedhas* and 1,000 *agniṣṭomas*; Donor in year 37 from camp at Kuḍavada of vi. Vilembali in Guḍḍavadi-*viṣaya* to Agniśarman of Vatsa *gotra*.

Mançyana Bhaṭṭāraka, beloved son of donor, and executor of the grant.

Seal has two registers: upper one has Lakṣmī or Svastika on pedestal flanked by two lampstands and surmounted by Sun and Moon, Lower register bears legend: Śrī-Mādhava varma. (Alphabet earlier than Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla.)

POLAMŪRU PLATES.²

Śrīvikramahendra

Govindavarman Vikramāśraya victor in numerous battles.

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman Trivaranagara-bhavana-gataparama-yuvatijana-viharanaratih; 1,000 *kratus*; hiranyagarbha-prasūtah, and 11 *āsvamedhas*, Janāśraya. (Issued when king had just crossed the Godāvarī for conquests in the east, year 48.)

ĪPŪR, II SET.³

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, eleven *Āsvamedhas* and 1,000 *agniṣṭomas*.

Devavarman
(of great valour).

Mādhavavarman Trikuta malayādhipati, devotee of Śrī Parvatasvāmi (grant from Amarapura in year. (4) 7) (alphabet earlier than Īpūr I).

There has been considerable difference of opinion on how to combine the genealogies of these five records into a united scheme. I have had occasion to consider this matter more than once, and I wish to state here the opinions I have formed after my last study which was undertaken some time ago along with Dr. S. Kameswararao who was then working on his thesis on the Gangas of Kalinga.

The scheme that is now holding the field is that of Dr. D. C. Sircar put forward by him in his *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pages 96-104. While I believe that his scheme is an advance on

¹ EI. XVII, 334-7 (Hultzsch).

² JAHS. VI, pp. 17 ff.

³ EI. XVII, 337-9 (Hultzsch). Date of record is 17 according to D. C. Sircar and 27 according to B. V. K. Rao.

that of K. V. Lakshmana Rao which is rightly criticized by him, I believe a different reconstruction is possible and necessary.

It will be readily seen that Nos. (1) and (2) above give the same genealogy and cause no difficulty, so that we start with this:

Mādhavavarman I
|
Vikramendravarman I
|
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman
|
Vikramendravarman II

Again, Nos. 3 and 4 likewise agree and give us

Vikramahendra
|
Govindavarman
|
Mādhavavarman
|
(Manchyanabhaṭṭāraka)

Now comes the question if Mādhavavarman in these two genealogies is one and the same person. Hultzsch who was not aware of No. 4 as it was not before him, suggested the identity¹ and followed it up by saying that Mādhavavarman II of No. 5 was his grandfather, making thus three Mādhava-varmans in all. The latter statement is now antiquated by No. 4 which shows that Govindavarman's father was Vikramahendra, i.e. Vikramendra and not Mādhava.

Dr. Sircar holds that the identity of the Mādhavavarman of (1), (2) and (3) proposed by Hultzsch still holds good. This view rests on two grounds—paleography and common epithets. The argument from paleography is not decisive; Dr. Sircar himself ignores Hultzsch's view of the paleography of these records when he puts Madhavavarman II of No. (5) after the ruler of the same name in No. (3), and though he himself shows no awareness of the need for justifying this reversal of Hultzsch's view of the paleography of the two sets of Īpūr plates, Dr. Gopalachari has set up a defence for it which I no longer consider decisive.² It is well to remember Fleet's warning that 'it is not easy to fix within a century or so, or even more, on simply paleographical grounds, the time of an undated record'. And in this case we do not lack external evidence that the date of Nos. (3) and (4) must be put much later than the identification of Mādhavavarman of these records with the homonymous

¹ EI. XVII, p. 335.

² *Early History of the Andhra Country*, pp. 204 ff.

rulers of (1) and (2) would allow. It has been pointed out that the donee of No. (4) was the father of the donee of a grant of the same place made in the fifth year of the reign of Eastern Cālukya Jayasimha I. This difficulty in chronology is fairly insuperable as becomes clear from the breakdown of Prof. V. V. Mirashi's effort to link up Viṣṇukundin history with that of the Somavamśis on the basis of the resulting genealogy.¹ Grant No. (4) and with it No. (3) also must necessarily be taken much nearer the commencement of E. Cālukya rule in Andhra, and this can be done only if we recognize that Mādhavavarman of (3) and (4) was not the same as the ruler of (1) and (2) of the same name. Turning now to the epithets, Sircar takes his stand on the eleven *āsvamedhas* and 1,000 other sacrifices common to (1), (2), (3) and (4) for identifying all the Mādhavavarmanas of these records. In his criticism of other views, I think he allows his rhetoric to get the better of facts when he says: 'But if we accept the above identifications we have three Mādhavavarmanas—I, II and III—all of whom were performers of eleven *āsvamedhas* and thousand *agniṣṭomas*'. For I do not suppose that anyone said or can say that the second Mādhavavarman of Īpūr II set (5) performed these sacrifices. Also it may be said that while he spends effort proving an obvious point viz., the identity of the donors of Nos. (3) and (4) from the similarity of epithets and descent, he does not attach enough weight to the new epithets that distinguish this ruler from Mādhavavarman of Nos. (1) and (2) viz., *hiranyagarbhaprasūta* and *Trivara-nagara*, etc.² Now we are not in a position to say whether these epithets were factually true, or convention played a part in shaping them. Personally I have a strong suspicion against these tens of *āsvamedhas*, hundreds of other sacrifices and even of battles. They seem to be mostly rhetoric. And in interpreting such conventional attributes, it seems to me that we must take careful note of differences and not slur them. I suggest that Mādhavavarman of (3) and (4) got the titles which tradition attached to his earlier namesake, and had others added to distinguish himself from his ancestor, and I identify Vikramahendra of (4) with Vikramendra II of (1), and evolve the genealogy given below, which satisfies the objective test that the donee of (4) must come in the generation preceding that of the donee of the Polamuru grant of the Eastern Cālukya Jayasimha I.

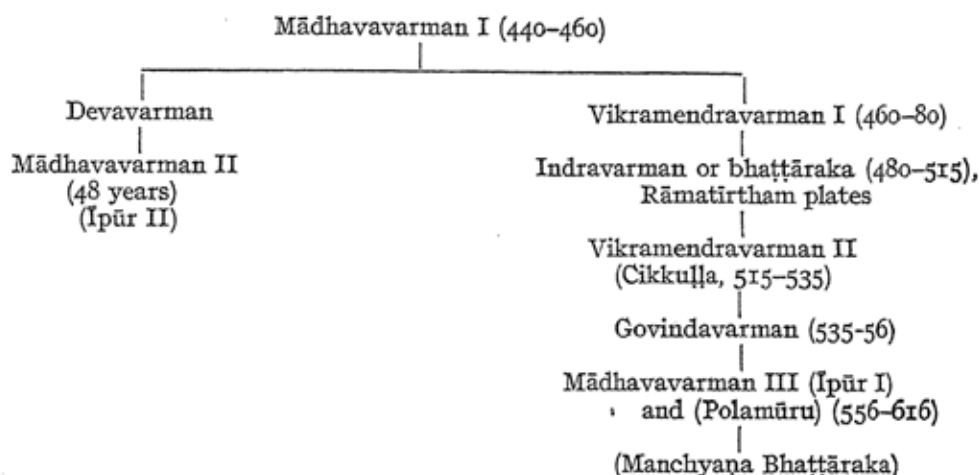
The only objection to this, so far as I can see, is paleographical, viz., that it virtually ignores Hultzsch's view that Īpūr I (3) is earlier than the Cikkūḷa (1) and Ramatirtham (2) grants; but the other arrangement of Dr. Sircar ignores another dictum of Hultzsch

¹ EI. XXII, pp. 20-1 esp. n. 3 on p. 21.

² Cf. JAHRS. X, pp. 18 ff. B. K. V. Rao: *Early History of Andhradesa* (pp. 446-52) contains a plausible explanation of the eleven *āsvamedhas*.

that (5) is earlier than (3). On the other hand (4), has been held to be much later than (1) and (2) and the identification of Vikramendra of (4) with the second king of that name in (1) has been proposed independently of considerations urged here;¹ this, if correct, would diminish very much the force of Hultzsch's view of the paleography of (3). Paleography, I have already said, cannot decide such narrow issues.

The remaining grant Īpūr II (5) causes no difficulty; the Mādhavavarman of this grant is obviously the same as the ruler of the same name in (1) and (2), so that the genealogy I propose is this:



The chronology can be only approximately determined from the fact, already mentioned, that the Polamūru grants of Mādhavavarman III and E. Cālukya Jayasimha I are separated by just one generation. Jayasimha's grant is dated in the fifth year of his reign which commenced in A.D. 633 according to some and 641 according to others. Adopting the later reckoning and c. 646 as the date of the grant of Jayasimha, we shall get c. 616 for the date of Mādhavavarman III's grant, which seems to be dated in his 48th year, and working backward from this datum, making the usual allowance for each generation subject to indications gained from copper plates regarding the regnal periods of monarchs, we can get to the middle of the fifth century as the period of the rule of Mādhavavarman I and the beginnings of Viṣṇukuṇḍin power. The figures have been inserted in the genealogical table above.

Dr. D. C. Sircar who identifies all the Mādhavavarmans of (1), (2), (3) and (4) necessarily finds the need for much special pleading over the interval between the two Polamūru grants of Mādhavavarman (Viṣṇukuṇḍin) and Jayasimha (E. Cālukya), has

¹ ARE. 1914, II. 35.

to postulate a prolonged survival of Viṣṇukunḍin rule in the Andhra country after its conquest by the Cāḷukyas, and work out an elaborate justification, as unconvincing as it is ingenious, for this highly improbable reading of Andhra history.¹

I shall conclude with a brief sketch of Viṣṇukunḍin history as I understand it. Speaking generally, the Viṣṇukunḍins may be said to have ruled the Andhra country in the interval between the Śāṅkayanas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. They rose to power about the middle of the fifth century, and so far as we know Mādhavarman I was the first ruler of the line. He is credited with devotion to the lord of Śrīparvata and the performance of eleven *asvamedhas* and a thousand other sacrifices. We may hesitate to accept these statements as literally true, but there can be no doubt that he was a powerful ruler. He had a Vākātaka princess for his queen. Nothing definite can be stated about the identity of this princess though presumably she came from the Bāsim branch of that family, and our chronological scheme points to her being a daughter of Devasena or even his sister. The records are singularly silent about the next king Vikramendra I, who is simply described as the ornament of two royal lines. Devavarman 'of great valour' was perhaps his elder brother who predeceased his father leaving behind a young child, afterwards Mādhavarman II who issues a grant in his forty-seventh year. Vikramendra I was followed on the throne by his son Indravarmā or Indrabhaṭṭāraka, described as a powerful ruler, victor in many battles and a liberal patron of learning who founded many *ghaṭikas* and gave away much wealth. He is said to have scattered his kinsmen by the mere contraction of his eye-brows. This is perhaps best explained as implying an attempt on the part of Mādhavarman II, after he grew up, to cross swords with his cousin and seek to get the kingdom into the hands of the elder branch. The quarrel obviously ended in a compromise and Mādhavarman II, who is described as lord of Trikūṭa-Malaya and issues a grant from Amarapura in the forty-seventh year of his reign, was allowed to rule over a part of the western mountainous region in the kingdom owing a nominal allegiance to Indravarmā. Trikūṭa-Malaya and Amarapura have been tentatively identified with Kottapakonda in the Narasaraopet taluq and with Amarāvati on the bank of the Krishnā, both in the Guntur district; but we may not be sure of these identifications though they in no way contravene the suggestion made here about the region of Mādhavarman's rule. The Rāmatīrtham plates of his 27th year show that till very late in his reign Indrabhaṭṭāraka continued to be master of the bulk of the Vizagapatam district, as Pākīrāṣṭra, where he made a grant, corresponds to the northern part of this district.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 105-22.

But towards the end of his reign, he had to face a hostile combination formed against him possibly on account of his increasing power and territory. The Godāvarī plates of Rājā Prithivīmūla¹ mention an alliance among several chiefs to uproot by force Indrabhaṭṭāraka, whose elephant Kumuda (of the S.W. quarter) was struck down by Indrādhiraṇḍa mounted on his own elephant Supratika (of the N.E.). The monarch mentioned last was doubtless the E. Ganga ruler of Kalinga, Indravarman I, the earliest ruler of the line. He might have got help also from the Vākāṭaka Hariṣeṇa II among whose conquests Andhra is also included in the Ajaṇṭa inscription. It is probable that as a result of this conflict the Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler lost his northern marches to his rising namesake of Kalinga. Of the next two rulers Vikramendra II and Govindavarman Vikramāśraya no striking achievements are recorded. But Mādhavavarman III who seems to have been the last great ruler of the line is said to have been a *hiraṇyagarbha prasūta*, i.e. one who performed the sacred rite of *hiraṇyagarbha* which consists in the performer passing himself through an egg of gold which was afterwards distributed among the officiating priests. He made the grant of Polamūru when he had just crossed the Godāvarī with the desire of making conquests in the east (*prag-vijigīṣayā Godāvarīm atītaran*). Obviously this was a campaign undertaken to recover the country lost to the rulers of Kalinga by Indrabhaṭṭāraka as we have noticed above. The result of the expedition is not known. In both the grants of his reign dated in the 37th and 48th regnal years, the king is said to have caused delight to the young damsels of Trivara-nagara. This has been taken to mean the city of Trivara, i.e. Tivaraḍeva, king of Mahākosala, and Mādhavavarman has been credited with a victory over that king.² Tivaraḍeva has been assigned to A.D. 530-550. But as the dates both of Tivara and Mādhavavarman III rest on approximate calculations, the slight chronological discrepancy need not be a serious objection to the acceptance of this suggestion. Or the success might have been won against Tivara's son and successor Chandragupta, as Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has suggested.³ But Tivaraḍeva was a powerful ruler of Kosala, and there is no evidence whatever in support of the suggestion of a war on the Somavamśis besides the rhetorical attribute given to Mādhavavarman in his plates. Again, Trivara is not the same as Tivara, and the expression, *Trivaranagara* is susceptible of the interpretation: three good cities, and it is not altogether impossible that the ornamental epithet means no more than that there were three flourishing cities in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom where the king resided by turns.

¹ JBBRAS. XVI, p. 116.

² EI. XXII, pp. 19 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, 521.

Mādhavavarman had also the title Janāśraya, and on the strength of this title a book on prosody, *Janāśrayī Chandoviciti*, is attributed to the king himself or at least to his reign. Mādhavavarman is described in his Polamūru grant as *avasita-vivida-divyah*, *lit.* one who knew the various forms of ordeals. It may also mean one who put an end to them. It is not easy to decide if the king resorted to the use of ordeals in the judicial processes in his kingdom or abolished the practice. The former alternative seems the more likely one.

A damaged stone record of Mādhavavarman in archaic characters in Sanskrit language noticed at Velpuru in the Guntur district may belong to this king.¹ There is evidence that parts of the Viṣṇukunḍin kingdom were breaking loose from it even before the invasion of Pulakeśin II; for at the time of that invasion we find a certain Prithivi-mahārāja ruling Piṣṭapura as an independent ruler, though his father's name Vikramendra is clear evidence of the feudatory relation in which the family had stood to the Viṣṇukunḍins not long before.² Either Mādhavavarman himself or his son Mañchyaṇa must have been the Vengi ruler that suffered defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin in the battle of Kuṇāla (Colair lake); the Viṣṇukunḍins might have continued in a subordinate capacity for some time after the battle, we do not know. Their overthrow by the Cālukya invader very near their capital is the last that we hear of them in history. Coins with the lion and vase emblems, till now wrongly attributed to the Pallavas, must be assigned to the Viṣṇukunḍins who were also notable patrons of rock-cut architecture as the cave temples at Mugalrājapuram and Uṇḍavalli near Bezvada and at other places testify.

¹ 581 of 1925.

² EI. XXIII No. 15, Tāṇḍivāḍa grant.

VEDIC RTŪ

By LOUIS RENOU

It is generally agreed that the word *rtū* which uniformly indicates the 'season' from the Vedic Texts could not have such a restricted sense in the R̥gveda. It is admitted since Roth that it is necessary to establish therein at the origin of the Vedic tradition the meaning of 'time, suitable time, proper time for the sacrifice', and sometimes even 'rule, usage'. Sāyaṇa himself expounds it occasionally by *kāla* or by a similar expression.

It is nevertheless doubtful that one should have the point of authentic departure in it. The key to the interpretation of the word is furnished by the hymns I. 15 and II. 36-37 which admit of the expression *rtunā* (*rtubhis*) in several verses. These hymns are the invocations to certain divinities enumerated in a fixed order, with an invitation to drink the Soma. The names are: Indra, the Maruts, Tvaṣṭar, Agni, Indra, Varuna and Mitra, Dravinodas, the two Aśvins, lastly gr̥hapati Agni; with the invocation to Dravinodas running over 4 consecutive stanzas, we have a total of 12 stanzas. These divinities are evidently considered as the patrons of the officiating priests of the cult, for in the hymn I. 15, mention has been made of the *potar*, the *neṣṭar* or the *brahman* in three of them, whereas in II. 36-37 we have a more complete enumeration which gives, besides the *hotar*, the *agnidh* and the *praśāstar*. It is said of these gods 'that they drink the Soma not 'from the cup of such and such a priest' as it is sometimes queerly translated but in the more exact and forceful manner, 'by reason of their qualification as *hotar*, *potar*, *neṣṭar*, etc.' We are in the presence of an old connection between the divinities and the priests, a traditional division aiming at associating certain gods, certain divine functions to the sacerdotal functions. In fact the correlation is incomplete. But if we take out from other hymns the names of the seven officiating priests to whom is added the name of the 'master of the house',—that is to say, of the lay patron of the sacrifice—we obtain in an almost fixed order the series: *hotar*, *potar*, *neṣṭar*, *agnidh*, *brahman*, *praśāstar*, *adhvaryu*, lastly *gr̥hapati*. Except for certain variants, it is the nomenclature which results from II. 1, 2; II. 5; IV. 9 and X. 91, 10.

It is not difficult to associate these names with the divinities of the hymns I. 15 and II. 36-37 with which we have started. This association is partially furnished in the hymns themselves; it is integrally present in a Khila of the R̥gveda which serves for 'invitation' (*praiṣa*) to a ritual about which we are going to speak hereafter.

The connection of Indra with the *hotar* as well as the *brahman* is explained by considerations of prestige. That of the *adhvaryu* (or more precisely of the two *adhvaryus*) with the two *Āśvins* emanates from the common traits, undoubtedly superficial, but sufficiently clear: on both sides there is 'active' rôle, worker, manual so to say. That of the *prasāstar* (or the two *prasāstars*) with *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* is so much in vogue that the more recent name of this officiating priest could be exactly *maitrāvaruṇa*. That of the *agnidh* (or *agnī-dhra*) and of *Agni* is disclosed in the name itself. That of the *neṣṭar* and *Tvaṣṭar* is explained by the rôle of accompanist of women common to both. Though there is not a perceptible connection between the *potar* (rôle very much thrown into the background) and the *Maruts*, it is not doubtful that it ought to have existed in one way or the other. Lastly, it is natural that the *gṛhapati* (formerly called the *yajamāna*) should be associated with this *gṛhapati* kat exokhèn represented by *Agni*.

Now the term which accompanies the invocations contained in these hymns, the term which is found in an obligatory manner everywhere where it has some significance for these sacerdotal values, for these connections, it is *ṛtu*. It is found sometimes as *ṛtunā*, sometimes as *ṛtubhis*. Geldner translates it by 'in its turn', taking it for granted that he defines these hymns as the *Götterturnus* and that, deservedly in a sense, it corresponds with a well-known ritual episode what is exactly called the *Ṛtuyāja* or the *Ṛtugraha*, in which each divinity and each officiating priest are invited 'turn by turn' to drink the *Soma*.

We think that the proper meaning of *ṛtunā* (*ṛtubhis*) is 'according to the division', that the word *ṛtu* indicates here very precisely the distributive 'function' in virtue of which the officiating priests and gods are bound according to a fixed scheme to the appointed aims. In other words, in an enumerative series (more or less hierarchised, like all the Indian enumerations), *ṛtu* marks the factor of division. From that, the word could be easily employed for marking a division in the duration, in a temporal continuum, and subsequently the first period of time articulation, the season, in this essential continuum which is the year. The word *parvan*, correctly 'knot of a stalk' or 'joint of the body', has also assumed the meaning of 'epoch' and especially 'lunar period, the calendar festival'.

There is, however, one difficulty. The stanzas of I. 15 as well as those of II. 36-37 (and also those of the *Khila*) are twelve in number, corresponding to the twelve libations of the posterior ritual. Now the officiating priests are seven and the associated gods are likewise seven. It is necessary to suppose that, for a motive which we shall have to see, the original number of seven (eight with the final stanza devolving on the *yajamāna*) is expanded into twelve (*yajamāna* included). The interpretation is clear: the divine name

of Dravinodas 'giver of riches', a simple elevated divine epithet for the circumstance as an autonomous entity, spreading over four stanzas without setting apart any priest for it, lastly the plural *ṛtubhis*, which aims at the plurality of the stanzas attributed to this pseudo-divinity—all confirm a secondary addition, but all the same anterior to the organization of the hymns in Saṁhitā.

If the ritual has expanded into twelve elements a rite which consists of only seven or eight, it is because it has associated with these invocations and enumerations the feeling of the twelve months of the year, and it has understood the word *ṛtu* as indicating the 'season', that is to say, the combination of these months by groups of two. As for the pressing in the morning of the Soma sacrifices, it is described to us in fact a succession of twelve cupfuls and twelve libations which take place for each of the months of the year, to begin with the two months of the Spring—*madhu* and *mādhava*. We have got one of these allusions to the seasons, under the form of a sort of a round *vasantādi* as the lyrical literature of the classic ages would later develop some of them in its innumerable *ṛtavarṇanas*. Besides the name itself of the seasons (or rather the months of which they are made), some details can confirm this new meaning. The fact itself that, of the two priests entrusted with the cupfuls, one of them enters into the pavilion of the chariot of Soma at the very moment when the other goes out, that their going is effected by different routes, which however, at the moment when they cross themselves, one of them passes his arms around the other—all this staging evokes the succession, the enchainment of the seasons which, as it is said in the ŚB. XII. 8, 2, 34, 'are all in the head, all in the middle, all at the end,' without so much confounding itself; 'the season is hunted out by the season' adds TĀ. I. 3, 2a. If the cups of Soma in the course of this rite 'ought not to be displaced', it is because the year itself is *asanna*, says MS. IV. 6. 7 'does not ever take rest'. We have indeed here the application to the seasons of the liturgical episode of 'round'.

This connection of the *Ṛtuyāja* and the seasons is, however, secondary. We have sufficiently marked that it has not any support in the ṛgvedic tradition (Khila included). None of these stanzas forming the *Ṛgveda* contains the least allusion to a season or to a month. The commentaries of Vedic times, in the *Yajurveda* itself, only furtively explain, not precisely, the subject of the seasons. The expression *ṛtunā* (*ṛtubhis*) would result according to ŚB. IV. 3, 1, 10 and ff. from the fact that 'the seasons, it is the year', 'the seasons are six in number,' etc., the mythical episode subjoined to the rite would be the creation of the day and the night, or rather of men and animals. TS. V. 1, 9, 1 is not more precise. The Schools of the *Ṛgveda*, AB. II. 29 and KB. XIII. 9 relate only to the identification of the *Ṛtuyāja* to the winds. This insufficiency is so much

more remarkable that, in other circumstances, these texts have much to say about the seasons, that they themselves of their own accord undertake the literary description on this subject. Lastly, even the number of the libations, which is principally 12, can be raised to 13 or 14. For the thirteenth, it has not been difficult to find a connection with the 'intercalary month', which in certain computations is added to the series of the twelve months; for the fourteenth, no explanation whatever could be invented.

In fact, all this episode is secondary and the initial use of the two ṛgvedic hymns, with their contemporary ritual, was quite different. That ought to be, we think, the choice of the priests, such as it has happened to the preliminary days of Agniṣṭoma and the ceremonies connected with them. This solemn choice exactly requires the statement of the initial words of the 'invitations', the complete text of which figures in the Ṛtuyāja. In other words, the *hotar* is chosen after connecting him with the divinity on which he depends: 'Indra (it is said of him) by reason of his function of *hotar*, is in agreement with the Heaven and the Earth....', 'Agni, on account of his function of *āgnīdhra* . . .' and similarly the rest. In sum, seven names of the priests, plus the layman as he is understood. It is in this episode alone that the formula of the Ṛgveda and the Khila finds its full justification, and it justifies also the general system of the 'functional' correlations. The series of the twelve libations is an ulterior invention, destined to make this ritual theme connected with the months and seasons, because the old word *ṛtu* in its meaning of 'functional division' was not properly understood and in conformity with the post-Vedic linguistic usage it has been given the new meaning of 'season'.

Having established this point, it remains for us to see briefly the other attestations of the word *ṛtu* in the Rksamhitā. In a number of passages it is obviously the question of the choice of the priests: if Agni X. 2 is called *ṛtupate*, it is because he practises the *hotra*, the *potra* and the diverse functions that devolve on him (see 2). It is thus that he will arrange '*(kalpayāti)* the *ṛtus*' (3) or what is instructive enough, that he will 'dispose of' (i.e., functionally divide) the gods by means of the *ṛtus*' (4), or lastly 'will sacrifice to the gods according to their distribution' (5). In the stanza II. 1, 2, which describes the rôles of Agni, figures the derivative *ṛtvīya*; Indra is called *ṛtupa*, 'he who drinks according to the distribution'; it is simply by the effect of the *māyā* that he is *anṛtupa* III. 53, 8.

It is not surprising under these circumstances that the generic name of the officiating priest had been *ṛtvij*,—properly 'he who sacrifices (or: who pronounces the *yājyās*) according to the distributive norm.'

Morphologically *ṛtu* is a name of action, meaning 'effective' like *kratu*, *hetu*, *yātu*, and others. The distributive nuance is found

again in several group words, thus in *ṛtu* (plur. *ṛtvas*) *dhātu -dātu*. The fundamental use of the root *ṛ-* is to 'bring about a continuity', or to 'articulate'. It is the sense which, with the orientations, different every time, is at the base of *ṛta* 'domain of the organized, of the group, *nirṛti* 'disorganization', *aram* 'in a well-arranged manner, in due distribution', *arati* epithet of Agni as distributor of the functions'.

We know enough of the Indo-European connections of the root *ṛ* and more especially of the derivative in *-tu-* (lat. *artus* 'articulation').

But it is convenient to take up again, at least in some words, the comparison with the Avestic word *ratu* which has been described several times and then abandoned. Phonetically the avestic word would conceal a Vedic **ratu* (or in the strict sense **artu*), the structure of which would be that of *kratu*. But this divergence is accessory. AV. *ratu* designates, at first, in some passages, a 'period' of variable dimensions, but in all cases fixed: sometimes putting together 'three springs' Vd. XVIII. 9, sometimes coinciding with the duration of preparation of the *haoma* (we are here indeed in the environment of the *ṛtu* of the Agniṣṭoma) Y. II. 18; III. 1; IX. 1; Vd. VII. 4.

Another word *ratu*, infinitely more important, seems at first quite remote from Vedic *ṛtu*. Certain beings, certain institutions, are designated as the *ratu* of the *aša*, that is to say, 'conceived as controlled by a protecting spirit belonging to the world of the divine order', thus notably Ahura Mazdāh is the *ratu* of the gods, Zarathuštra that of the human beings.

One would cite some important indications for the relationship with the Vedic:

- (a) the connection of the *ratu* with the *aša*. In the Rgveda the *ṛtu* is the animated principle, active, of a distributive organization of which the *ṛta* represents the continuance or the abstract idea. The *ṛtu* is from the domain of the *ṛta*, undoubtedly the expression *ṛtasya ṛtuh* which would coincide with the avestic expression is not adequate but the nearness of the two terms is frequent enough for having some instructive value.
- (b) In the same way, as the Avesta speaks of the *ratu* belonging to divers entities, down to the *vīśya ratu*, in the like manner the Rgveda mentions the *pārthivānām ṛtūn* I. 95, 3; it speaks of the beasts and men, down to the winged birds, which shoot to the interior of the heavens according to the *ṛtu* of the Aurora (I. 49, 3), the feminine goddesses which are the *ṛtu* of the women (V. 46, 8). Here the value of 'presiding principle, *adhikāra*', which has often been postulated for the

Avesta, is entirely plausible. The liturgy *Vīspe ratave* invokes the celestial *ratu*, the human *ratu*, 'those that fly into the air, etc.' Lastly, the most significant text perhaps is: RS. II. 13, 1 in which the *ṛtu* is called the mother of Indra, that is the power thanks to which the god, by his exploits, had introduced order into the primitive anarchy. The *ṛtu* is so to say the Śakti of Indra. 'The time (or: the season) is his mother', as it is usually translated has no sense whatever.

THE AVESTA FROM THE HINDU POINT OF VIEW

By MOTILAL DAS

In the whole of world literature, there is nothing which can stand comparison with the Vedas. For their serene and solemn outlook, for their grand style, for their spiritual values and for their universal appeal, these are the loftiest masterpieces of ancient human achievements. The Avesta, the book of the old Iranians, who were the nearest kinsmen of our Aryan forefathers throws considerable light on the thoughts and ideals of the Vedas, and when studied in the background of Vedic literature, the Avesta discloses new shades of meanings. A comparative study of the Vedas and the Avesta is thus of real positive value both to the Hindus, whose culture and religion are based on the Vedas and the Parsis who look upon the Avesta as their sacred Bible.

The meaning of the word 'Avesta' is uncertain and different scholars give different meanings. We would think, however, that the name is derived from the Sanskrit word *Upastha*, which is a synonym for the Veda. Sanjana in his work on 'the Ancient Persia and the Parsis' writes: The conjecture of Prof. Andrews, which Karl F. Geldner is disposed to concur in, is that Avistak or Avistāk is to be traced back to the old form *Upastha* and thus signifies foundation or foundation-text. Sanjana, however, does not seem to have known that *Upastha* is equivalent for the Veda just as Śruti, Amnaya and others. The Sanskrit equivalents for the Veda, Mantra, Śruti, Amnayas, Chandas have their counterparts in the Avesta as Mathra, Prasruti, Menai and Zend. The Atharvaveda is styled as Atharvāṅgīrasa or Bhṛigwangīras. Generally it is interpreted to mean that the Atharvaveda consists of two classes of Mantras—spells that protect the sacrifices and hymns that refer to sacrifices. But a better conclusion would be to take the Atharvaveda to consist of two books, one of the Atharvans and the other of the Aṅgīrasas. Atharva and Aṅgīra are two famous ṛṣis. Their descendants and followers are known as Atharvans and Aṅgīrasas. There is a Rk which says that it was Atharva, who first disclosed the path of sacrifice. The heirs and disciples of Atharva, who were the fire-priests of ancient India, are to be identified with the Athravas, the fire-priests named in the Avesta.

We would presume that the Avesta is the lost Bhargava *Upastha*. The extant Atharvaveda in India is only the Aṅgīrasa book of the Atharvaveda.

It has been ascertained beyond all doubt that the old Iranians and our Aryan forefathers once lived together. They had common

conceptions and common ideals. But, later on, there was a schism between the two sections. The real reason of the quarrel is not known. We can conjecture that it was due to differences in worship. In the *Mahabharata* we find that there was a fight between the Devas and the Asuras. The Devas selected Brihaspati, the son of Aṅgira as their preceptor, while the Asuras selected Śukra the Bhargava as their priest and teacher. It is further stated that because of this fight, the two sections began to have their prayers and sacrifices by different mantras. This would explain the loss of Bhargava Upastha from our sacred literature. But if we bear this in mind, it would be possible for us to interpret the Vedas and the Avesta correctly with reference to the common ideals and conceptions. The Avesta has close resemblances, both in language and spirit to Vedic literature and if we try, we shall be able to find Vedic words, idioms and ideas as equivalents to Avestic ones.

In Yasna 71. 11. we get that 'there is but one path—the path of Āśā—all others are false paths'. The essence of Avestic teachings is contained in the deep and fundamental conception of Āśā. The scholars are unanimous that the Avestan Āśā and the Vedic Rta are the two variants of the same word. In the Vedas we are told that the gods are mighty because they uphold the eternal law of Rta. The divine deities are lords of Rta and protectors of the eternal law. Madhucchanda, the Vedic Rṣi says, 'O thou Mitra and Varuṇa, thou art great and mighty, because thou lovest the everlasting law, thou cherishest the eternal order of universe'.

The *gāthās* embody this Vedic idea and uphold that human life should be founded on Āśā. In Yasna 60. 12. we find that the worshippers express the wish that 'Through the best Āśā, through the highest Āśā, may we get a vision of Thee, may we get a vision of Thee, may we draw near unto Thee, may we be in perfect union with Thee.'

The Indo-Iranians looked upon this universal order, prevailing in nature with awe and reverence and tried to mould life gracefully with the ordered movement they saw all around them. The Āśā-Rta conception is the noblest achievement of human mind. It stands for the righteousness of Godhead and exhorts man to be of one will with Āśā and thereby approach Ahura-Mazda, the great Āsūra, the highest divine being. Āśā is *vahista*, i.e. *vashistha*, the best that man can think of. To be upholder of Āśā, man must be pure in body, mind and spirit. He should have good thoughts, good words and good deeds. We must live in the atmosphere of Āśā and radiate it all around in our life. It would bring us inward peace and joy in our daily hardships and trials. It is for this reason that *Asem vohu* has been ordained as the daily prayer of the devout Zoroastrians.

It runs thus:—

*Asem vohu vahistem asti, ustā asti;
Usta uhmai hyat Asai vahistai Asem.*

It can be put into a Sanskrit verse word for word without much change:

*Rtam vasu vasishtam asti, istam asti;
Istam asmai yatas Rtaya vasishtaya Rtam.*

'A righteous life is the richest life we can have—it is the best and should be the goal of life on earth. He attains the goal who lives for righteousness alone.'

Around this sublime pivot of universal order and righteousness the ethics of our Indo-Iranian forefathers revolves. The gods are gods because they are possessed of Āśā and Rta and man may divinize himself by conforming his life to this noble truth in his life. Man is free to choose for himself the path of righteousness or the path of wickedness; one is hard and the other pleasant. But if he wants abiding peace, joy and immortality, man must embrace Āśā and follow the good life through all the struggles of life.

The Indo-Iranians were lovers of life. To them life is a joy. They had robust faith in living. It is for this reason that the R̥sis in the Vedas ask for hundred autumns of cheerful and happy life.

A Vedic hymn runs thus: 'We must see with joy hundred autumns, we must have our feast of life for hundred years, we must live and live for hundred autumns. We must thrill with the joy of life and increase ourselves for hundred autumns. We must have the boon of life growing with joy and cheer from day to day during our long life. We must be in unison with nature for these hundred years. We must have enthusiasm for these hundred years—nay not only hundred but more years.'

In Yasna 43. 1. Zarathustra preaches also the joy of living: 'Happiness comes to him who gives happiness unto others. The great lord bestows joy and peace to one who dedicates himself for the good of others. For progress and for upholding the path of righteousness, one must pray for vitality and strength of soul.'

Pessimism took hold of the Indian mind later on and our thinkers and philosophers lost faith in the robust optimistic outlook of the Vedic singers. To them, this world became a place of sorrows and sufferings and they sought out means for escape from this sordid world. Life is pain and suffering and we must have deliverance from the world-ache. But there is nowhere this sorrowful outlook in the earliest songs and hymns. To these hardy and hopeful life was full of honey. They saw joy and gladness in all the movements of nature. Gotama Rahugana sings with glee:—

'Let the wind waft sweets, the streams pour sweets for him that keep to the path of Rta. Let the plants be sweet to us. Sweet be the night and sweet be the dawn, sweet be the dust of the earth and sweet be our father Heaven to us.

May the lordly trees bring sweets and pleasant be the sun.

May the quarters of the earth be full of sweets to us.'

Zarathustra too asks for earthly blessings. The reward of joyful and happy life is invoked in most of his prayers. We must accept life as we find it but shall make it sweeter and richer by becoming a radiating centre of cheer and happiness to all with whom we come in contact.

This philosophy of optimism was later on embodied in the theory of Anandam. Man is born of Anandam. He lives and has his being in Anandam and he merges into Anandam. This grand message of Anandam of our forefathers must be revived in the fever and fret of modern life.

But this life of happiness is not a life of sloth and idleness. It is a life of active self-sacrifice. The Aryans and the Iranians were both followers of sacrifices. Martin Haug says: 'The Izeshne ceremony, as performed by the Parsee priests now-a-days contains all the element of which the different parts of the Jyotishtoma cycle of sacrifices, the prototype of all the Soma sacrifices is composed. The Agnishtoma (i.e. praise of Agni, the fire) which is the opening sacrifice of this cycle and indispensable for every Agnihotra, to gain the object wished for, viz. heaven, bears particularly a resemblance to the performance of Izeshne.'

Yajna, however, is no mere ceremony. It is the realization of the great design of Godhead in the evolution of the world. Progress is possible, advance is secured only by the active services of man in society. When we work for the good of others and render our services for society, we not only become ourselves richer in spirit but we preserve the social order and add meaning and purpose to human history. Each man must exert himself to the best of his powers and consecrate himself for the good of humanity. We must not live for ourselves alone. We must live for one and all. We must render active services and add something worthy to the sum total of the life of humanity.

It is said in the Rgveda—Kevaladas Kevalagho Bhavati—one who eats for himself, eats sin alone. The great world cycle moves because of sacrifice of the great lord and we must also daily perform these sacrifices in promoting the divine kingdom of Righteousness.

Let us now turn from these general conceptions and look to some of the particular aspects of the Avesta. The Avesta glorifies Ahura mazda. Its Vedic variant is Asura-mahat. In the earliest hymns of the Rgveda we have references to this Asura-mahat and there can be no doubt that before the schism Asura-mahat was a

common name for the highest divine being among the Indo-Aryans.

In a hymn of Vamadeva we get the following:—

Mahat tannama Guhyam Purusprig, yena Bhutam janayo yena Bhavyam.

‘Mahat’ is that secret name which embraces everything, whereby thou createst all that is and all that shall be.’

There are seven ministering angels who together form the great Lord Ahura mazda. There are more or less symbolic ideals, and moral concepts. They are known as Amesha spentas whose sanskrit transliteration would be Amartya shivatama—the benevolent immortals. These are known as Vohu Manah, Asha, Kshathra, Aramaiti, Haurvatat and Ameratat. They are the variants of Sanskrit, Brahman, Rta, Kṣatra, Aramati, Sarvatati and Amritatwa. The first three are active virtues which, when followed bring devotion, infinite blessings and immortality to the worshipper. Vohumana is generally translated as good mind. Man obtains power through goodness of mind. Good mind directs the paths of the devotee and through him he is able to traverse the path of Righteousness. One who resorts to the wisdom and grace of the Lord through Vahu Manah and Āśā attain the power worldly and heavenly, of God and thereby inaugurate the kingdom of Mazda on earth.

Let me conclude the little essay with a brief discussion of the Ahuna vairya mantra, which is regarded by the pious Zoroastrians as the very root of their faith. Zarathustra is acclaimed by them as a world-teacher and it is said that the hymn contains the essence of his teachings—the eternal principles of Truth, Love and Service.

*Yatha Ahu vairyo, Atha Ratus asat cit hoca
Vangheys dozda Manangho syaothanam anghaus Mazdai
Xsathrem ca Ahurai a yim driguvyo dadat.*

Its Sanskrit transliteration would be something like what is given below:

*Yatha Asu Viryam Atha Ratus Rtat chayat asya
Brahmasya data manasas kryamananam Ayusha Mahatas.
Kshatramch Asurasya yam durgataya dadat vastram.*

‘Just as the sovereign-Lord is all-powerful so is the spiritual leader through the store of Āśā, the universal order. The gift of Brahman comes to him who works for God the Lord of life. The strength of God descends on that man indeed, who gives shelter and love to the poor and meek.’

The whole world moves in the path of law. We must adore this eternal law and follow it in the desires and actions of our life. This divine law is fulfilled in our life only when we lead active lives

doing good to others. The great design of God is furthered by our active co-operation and service.

This mantra therefore contains the true meanings of the prophet of Ahura Mazda. To attain the peace and joy of God, we are to follow the three paths—the path of knowledge, the path of love and the path of service. These are inter-related. We now know and feel the presence of God, our Lord Ahura Mazda and by love and faith we now embrace him. But this love and faith is to energize us into action. There is evil in this world. We must perish evil. Our life is to be one of continued battles against the powers of evil and wickedness. This we can do best by seeking salvation of all mankind. We fight the evil best when we make others good. The good must triumph ultimately and we can espouse the cause of truth and virtue by fighting against wickedness and working for righteousness.

A synthetic integral philosophy of life is what the care-worn and troubled humanity needs today. We shall find it in the oldest teachings of our Indo-Iranian ancestors.

Let us cling fast to their noble and sublime teachings. Their faith was brimful of life and cheer, their love was deep and fervent, their worship was pure and holy and their work was selfless and pure. Let the unhappy world turn once more to the glad-tidings.

The Avesta and the Vedas together supplement one another. They proclaim the message of hope and joy. They are not unaware of the existence of evil in life. This stubborn fact cannot be denied. What man can do in this world of conflicts is to lead a life of growth and evolution. Perfection would perhaps never be attained by man but no one can be apathetic to the creed of development. We daily attain perfection and health by the ever-enduring process of perfection. Happiness is the criterion of the value of human life, pleasure is not the standard; but a life of love and service where we daily enrich and perfect our lives by our failures and defects.

As a Hindu I hail the mystic lore of the Avesta and I fondly hope that this forgotten Bhargava Veda will take its rightful place among the vast body of our sacred literature. It would be a source both of curious delight and ennobling inspiration.

ESCAPE (NISSARAṆA)

By I. B. HORNER

Although a certain amount might be written on the etymology of the word *nissaraṇa*, which seems to mean 'without' (*nis-*) 'a refuge' or shelter (*saraṇa*), I am not attempting this here. Nor am I discussing the related word *paṭisaraṇa*.¹ The point I wish to make is that it is possible to see from relevant contexts in the Pali canon that those states or conditions to which no refuge or shelter is given, or, to put it differently, that have no refuge or shelter, are states and conditions that can be escaped from, indeed are to be escaped from, *nissaraṇīya*. In this way they give rise to escape, escapes, *nissaraṇa*, for there is an escape from them. States or conditions that are to be escaped from can be escaped from, both because they have no refuge or shelter and because there is an escape from them. It is man who makes the escape effective, usually either by setting up some new state against the one to be escaped from, and so driving it out; or by controlling it, and so likewise driving it out and getting rid of it.

I shall take *nissaraṇa* from the man's point of view, as the escape he is to make from various states and conditions, mentioned in the Pali texts, and which are, broadly speaking, impermanent, ill, not-self, hindering and obstructing him in his search for the highest goal.

I shall render the noun *nissaraṇa* consistently by 'escape'; the verb *nissarati* (not of frequent occurrence²) as 'to escape'; and the gerundive *nissaraṇīya* as 'to be escaped from' (not as 'leading to escape', 'whereby should be escape', or 'tending to deliverance'). If we can translate these words consistently wherever they are found, we stand a better chance of realizing the solidarity of thought and idea which governed the choice and use of them in the contexts where they occur. The old editors were extremely precise in their use of words, and if we are to get at their thought we must attempt to be as precise as they were.

The word 'escape' has already been used by some translators. I adopt it here, as it seems the best rendering. Other English words that have been used for *nissaraṇa* are: salvation, deliverance,

¹ E.g., *M.* iii. 9; *S.* v. 218; *A.* i. 199, iii. 186.

² E.g., *S.* iii. 30; *A.* i. 260.

outcome, refuge, way of refuge. And for *anissaraṇapañña* (not wise as to the escape, not knowing it, not conscious of it), these phrases have been used: 'discerning that they are unsafe,' 'without realizing that they afford no refuge,' 'he knows not how unreliable they are'. Now, 'salvation' (and even although the Commentaries are apt to explain *nissaraṇa* by *nibbāna*, there are exceptions) seems to me too big a word, suggesting the whole being of man; and there are, besides, other drawbacks. 'Outcome' is too small, and does not convey the right meaning—'coming out' would be nearer. For 'deliverance' there is the word *vimutti*; moreover the texts make it clear that *nissaraṇa* is not quite what *vimutti* is, nor is it susceptible to different kinds, as is *vimutti*, with its *cetovimutti*, *paññāvimutti* and so on. 'Refuge', even if it is etymologically wrong, for *nissaraṇa* and *saraṇa* are opposites, might be accepted, but only if it is remembered that one escapes from something bad to the refuge of something else, regarded as good. 'Not-the-refuge' would be better, the not-refuge of some state, as for example, 'This is not-the-refuge of material shapes, that is to say immateriality', for this would mean that material shapes have no foothold, no refuge where they can stay in what is not material. But in spite of *nissaraṇa* being a negative word, I think some more positive rendering is called for, and this is supplied by 'escape'. Moreover, it is difficult to say, following another context, that 'this is not-the-refuge of material shapes, that is to say the control and ejection of passion and desire for them'. The escape from them lies in such a control (*vinaya*, aversion, diversion, discipline) of them that they are got rid of, and hence escaped from.

I have collected here at least fifty-four states or conditions from which the Pali canon says there is an escape. As treated in the Pali canon, they fall roughly into nineteen categories or groups, some of which however contain only one item. These categories, if taken item by item, are found to comprise about sixty-seven members. But because some of the categories contain one or more of the items contained in others, the total of sixty-seven becomes reduced to about fifty-four.

I will now give a table of these states to be escaped from, and in all cases where the Pali canon tells us what the escape itself is from any state to be escaped from, I add this in its appropriate place in a second column. Those states which occur in more than one category are denoted by italics.

States from which there is an Escape.

- I. What is born, become, made,
composite

Ud. 80, It. p. 37

The Escape.

The unborn, not become, unmade, in-
composite

Also the stopping of things that are ill,
the calming of the constructions

*States from which there is an Escape.**The Escape.*

- II. *Sense-pleasures*
Material shapes
 Whatever has become, is com-
 posite, has arisen by way
 of cause
It. p. 61, D. iii. 275
- Renunciation of them
 Non-material shape
 Its stopping
- III. *Sense-pleasures*
Ill-will
Harming
Material shapes
 One's own body
A. iii. 245-6, D. iii. 239-240
- Renunciation of them
 Non-ill-will
 Non-harming
 Non-material shape
 Its stopping
- IV. *Ill-will*
Harming
 Discontent
 Passion
 All signs
 Barb of perplexity and doubt
A. iii. 290, D. iii. 247
- Freedom of heart that is love
 Freedom of heart that is compassion
 Freedom of heart that is sympathetic joy
 Freedom of heart that is indifference
 Freedom of heart that is signless
 Rooting out the conceit that 'I am'
- V. *Sense-pleasures*
Material shapes
Feelings
M. i. 84 ff.
- In each case: control and ejection of
 desire and passion for them
- VI. *Material shape*
Feeling
Perception
Constructions
Consciousness } The five
 Khandhas
S. iii. 61-65; cf. S. iii. 27-29, 103, 174
- In each case: control and ejection of
 desire and passion for them
- VII. *Passion for sense-pleasures*
Ill-will
Sloth and torpor
Restlessness and worry
Doubt and perplexity } The five Hindrances
S. v. 127; cf. A. iii. 234 ff.
- VIII. *Sense-pleasures*
 Becoming (cf. Sn. 69)
 View
 Ignorance } The four
 Āsavas,
 Oghas,
 Yogas
A. ii. 11-12
- Non-obsession with them is release,
visamyoga, from them
 Released from them, one is secure from
 the bonds, *yogakkhema*
- IX. Six spheres of sense-contact
M. ii. 230, S. iv. 83

States from which there is an Escape.

The Escape.

X. Five sense-organs

S. v. 193-4

Six sense-organs

S. iv. 8

XI. Pleasure

Pain

S. iv. 205

XII. Painful feelings

S. v. 208-9

XIII. Feeling that is neither painful
nor pleasant

M. iii. 285

XIV. The world

Control and ejection of desire and
passion for it

S. i. 128, A. i. 258 f., 260

XV. The four elements

S. ii. 171 ff.

XVI. Ill, ageing and dying

S. ii. 5, 9, 10

XVII. Seven Stations of Conscious-
ness

By full comprehension of them one is
freed

Two Spheres

D. ii. 69-70, M. iii. 25 ff.

XVIII. Slightest faults

Vbh. 247

XIX. Material things (such as robes,
almsfood, lodgings, medicines
= the four requisites = gifts)

D. iii. 46, S. ii. 194-5, A. i. 74, 274

The above list, although giving but the bare bones as it were of the subject, cannot fail, I think, to underline the importance the canonical texts ascribed to the notion of escape. Although the greatest emphasis is on sense-pleasures and then on material shapes (that is, if we go by the number of times these are mentioned in the

escape passages), there is yet a considerable diversity of states from which there is said to be an escape. It will be noticed that the escape from the same state or set of conditions is sometimes differently expressed. Thus, for example, the escape from ill-will and the escape from harming have both a negative and a positive form: the former appearing as non-ill-will, non-harming; and the latter as freedom of heart that is love, freedom of heart that is compassion. It may be for this reason that the *Vinaya* speaks of escapes, using the plural: conscious lying is a stumbling-block to the escapes.¹ Or it may be that in this *Vinaya* passage each and every escape from each and every state that is said to have an escape is being thought of.

What this list does not show at all is the sequence that at some time became stereotyped: *assāda*, *ādinava*, *nissaraṇa*,—satisfaction, peril, escape. But more details of this sequence will emerge as we go along. Nor does it at all fully show the connection of the escapes with freedom, *vimutti*. This is fairly well marked, and can be seen in several of the relevant contexts.

Thus, taking Group III, it is said that if a monk pays attention to the states named there, his mind is not freed; but if he pays attention to their opposites, namely to the escape from them, his mind is freed, *vimuccati*. Because his mind is well or totally freed, *suvinutta*, from each condition, he is freed, *mutta*, from the *āsava*s, cankers, or fluxions, which arise on account of each of the conditions to be escaped from, *nissaraṇiya dhātuyo*. To be freed from the cankers is tantamount to arahantship. The achievement of escape is therefore a step forward on the journey on the Way; as a stepping-stone it is valuable.

Freedom of mind or heart is well to the fore in Group IV. As to another form of freedom frequently mentioned in the Pāli canon, *paññāvimutti*, freedom by wisdom or intellect, the *Dīgha*² says that a monk is freed without any substrate remaining, *anupāda vimutta*, who is freed by wisdom, and who comprehends the uprising and setting, the satisfaction and peril of the seven stations of consciousness, *viññāṇatthiti*, and the two spheres, and the escape from them. (See Group XVII.)

Again, the idea of freedom enters into both the contexts I have adduced to exemplify Group IX. In the one, Gotama is reputed to say: 'As to this (that they theorise about), it is composite, it is material (*olārika*), but there is indeed a stopping of the constructions', and having understood it thus, the Truthfinder sees the escape from it, has gone beyond it. This Sutta, the Pañcattaya of the *Majjhima*,³ ends by saying: 'Thus it is that the matchless path to peace is well awakened to by the Truthfinder who, having

¹ *Vin.* i. 104.

² *D.* ii. 69-70.

³ *M.* ii. 230 ff.

understood the rise and fall, the satisfaction and peril in the six is freed of (sense-) contact, and the escape from them as it really is, spheres without substrate remaining.'

In the other passage exemplifying Group IX, 'to be freed' is shown to be a stage subsequent to that of 'understanding': a monk is *vedagā*, expert in knowledge, if he comprehends, as it really is, the rise and fall, the satisfaction and peril of the six spheres of sense-impingement, and the escape from these; but he is an all-conqueror, *sabbajī*, when, after he has understood all these aspects of the six spheres, he is freed without any substrate remaining.¹

In relation to Group VI it is said that if a monk is skilled in seven points and is an investigator in three ways, he is accomplished, *kevalin*, in this dhamma and discipline, he has lived the life and is a supernal person, *uttamapurisa*. The seven points that he comprehends are material shape, its arising, its stopping and the way leading to its stopping, together with the satisfaction and peril in it and the escape from it. This escape lies in the control and ejection of desire and passion for material shape. (The same is then said of the remaining four *khandhas*.) Whoever fully knows these seven points about each of the five *khandhas* fares along well by his disregard and dispassion for them and by his stopping them. By these processes he is freed without any substrate remaining; he is totally or well freed; being well freed he is an accomplished and supernal one whose course (like that of arahants) is not known.²

From the above evidence it therefore cannot well be doubted that there exists a strong connection between escape and freedom. The means of getting free are many, and one of them lies in making good the escapes.

Three and five and six elements to be escaped from, *nissaranīya dhātuyo*, are mentioned in the texts (see Groups II, III and IV). To some smallish extent they overlap, so that taking them all together there are ten elements to be escaped from, instead of fourteen as appears if the groups are taken separately. The expression *nissaranīya dhātuyo* is not used in any other contexts besides these. Yet this does not preclude some of the items included in them from having parallels in other escape passages where, however, there is no mention of the phrase *nissaranīya dhātuyo*.

For example, the *Itivuttaka* and the *Dīgha*³ (Group II) speak of three conditions to be escaped from, the *Dīgha* saying that they are difficult to penetrate: 'from sense-pleasures, this is the escape, namely renunciation; from material shapes, this is the escape, namely non-materiality; and the escape from whatever has become, is composite and has uprisen by way of cause, is its stopping.' Yet the escape from what has become and is composite, mentioned in

¹ S. iii. 61-65.

² S. iv. 83.

³ *It.* p. 61; *D.* iii. 275.

the last clause, is also much emphasized in another *Itivuttaka* passage,¹ corresponding with an *Udāna* passage,² but where the words *nissaraṇīya dhātuyo* are not used: 'There is an unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite, and were it not for this unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite, no escape could be shown here for what is born, become, made, composite. But because there is the unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite, an escape can be shown for what is born, become, made, composite.' This has the appearance of a general statement of which all the other conditions and elements from which there is an escape are particular instances. The Commentary says that what is made is made by way of cause, causally made, which would therefore bring this item into line with the last item of the other *Itivuttaka* passage and the *Dīgha* passage mentioned above: 'whatever has arisen by way of cause.'

The *Itivuttaka* proceeds to a verse,³ not found in the *Dīgha*, which tells where this escape leads, and what it is:

The born, become, produced,
Made, composite—not lasting;
A composite of ageing and dying,
A nest of sickness, brittle,⁴
A conduit for food, come to be—
It is not right to delight in that.

The escape from it to the real⁵—
Which is beyond reasoning, lasting,
Unborn, unproduced—
To the sorrowless, dustless path,
Is the stopping of things that are ill,
The calming of the constructions, bliss.⁶

This lovely verse is reminiscent of the Upanishad's 'From the unreal lead me to the real.' For it too draws a distinction between the born and unlasting on the one hand, and the unborn and lasting on the other. The escape from the one is to the other.

In the ariyan quest that Gotama set himself⁷ he sought six objectives, amongst them some of those mentioned in this *Itivuttaka* verse. He sought the unborn, the unageing, the undiseased, the undying, the unsorrowing and the stainless (*cf.* the 'dustless' in *It.*), and describes each as 'the incomparable security from the bonds—*nibbāna*.' And when he had found them, he knew, 'Unshakable is freedom for me'.⁸

¹ *It.* p. 37.

⁴ *Cf. Dh.* 148.

⁷ *M. i.* 163 ff.

² *Ud.* 80.

⁵ *Santa*.

⁸ *M. i.* 167.

³ *It.* p. 37.

⁶ With last line *cf. Dh.* 368.

But before his awakening, this thought occurred to him as it did to each of the preceding Buddhas while they were still *bodhisattas*: 'There is being born and ageing and dying and passing (from one birth) and uprising (in another). But one does not comprehend, *nappājānāti*, the escape from this ill, from ageing and dying. When shall the escape from this ill, from ageing and dying, be perceived?'¹

Escape therefore presented itself as something to be looked for and found. Before their full awakening the Great Beings seem to have been aware of its importance, so it must be presumed that early in their ministries it was an idea with which they were much concerned; and this is indeed borne out by Gotama's account of the beginnings of his quest and striving, as found in the Ariyapariyesana Sutta.

'Ageing and dying' are, I think, merely examples of 'this ill' which is 'all that is denoted by the word "mortality"',² emphasizing the fact that the bodhisattas in seeking an escape from ill would know, as Buddhas, that escape from it is possible because there is an unborn, not become, unmade, incomposite—the very antithesis of the impermanence and changefulness, hence the ills, which characterize the psycho-physical components: body, feeling, perception, the conformations (or constructions) and consciousness. For Buddhas, as well as instructed disciples of the ariyans, comprehend as they really are, the arising, the passing away, the satisfaction, the peril of these five grasping groups, and the escape from them³ (see Group VI).

Other thoughts about escape that he had, while still a bodhisatta, are recorded to have been recollected by Gotama.⁴ Before he became Buddha, he had wondered what was the escape from these five grasping groups or components of grasping. In each case he came to the conclusion that it was the control and ejection of desire and passion for them.⁵ And once he had understood the satisfaction and the peril of these grasping groups and the escape from them, he knew that he was fully awakened. Before, he had been doubtful.⁶ He then says that not only has the escape, which there is from these groups, been rightly seen by him by means of wisdom, but that, because there is an escape from them, beings escape from them—otherwise they could not do so.⁷

This is somewhat differently put in various other passages, and in particular I am thinking of some which refer to the 'world', by which is meant the six sense-organs, as at S. iv. 93-95, which is also

¹ S. ii. 5, 9, 10.

² A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 50.

³ S. iii. 174 ff.

⁴ As at M. iii. 18; cf. S. v. 220 ff., of feelings.

⁵ S. iii. 29.

⁴ S. iii. 27-28.

⁷ S. iii. 29-31.

one of the meanings that 'sea' has in it the discipline for an ariyan.¹ Thus, when the *Anguttara* says:² 'Whatever is the control and ejection of desire and passion for the world, this is the escape from the world', and again,³ 'Because there is an escape from the world therefore beings escape from the world . . . when beings know the satisfaction of the world as such, the peril as such, the escape as it really is, these beings are released from the world, unfettered, freed, and they live with a mind whose barriers are down,' I think the reference is to the world of the six senses, or, as the Commentary says,⁴ to the world of the constructions—to the world that is to be found in this fathom-long body.

It is also significant that when Māra, who has as one of his snares the pleasures of the senses,⁵ was trying to tempt a nun of Ālavī,⁶ and again the therī Selā⁷ to stop being aloof,⁸ he uttered this verse:

There is no escape from the world.
What is the good of aloofness?
Enjoy pleasures and delights.
Do not become one who repents later.

But the nun replies: 'There is an escape from the world; it is well accomplished (*suphussita*) by me through wisdom . . . it is not you who knows that path.'

Another aspect of the 'world' is that of the four great elements: earth, water, air, fire or heat. There is an escape from each one of them (Group XV). Again, it is said, if there were not, beings could not escape from them; but because there is, beings escape from them.⁹ It may be, although it is not explicitly said so, that the escape is to be found in disregarding and being dispassionate towards the four great elements,¹⁰ and all that they imply.

Turning to the pleasures of the senses, which are in Māra's domain, his snare, and to pleasant and painful feelings, the following passage¹¹ is somewhat reminiscent of Māra's tempting of the nuns: 'Of recluses and brahmans who are greedy and avid for the five-fold pleasures of the senses, not seeing the peril in them, not aware of the escape from them, this can be said: they have fallen into misery and calamity, and are to be done to by the Evil One as he wishes'. Whereas, if they live aloof from the pleasures of the senses, they are called those who have made Māra blind (or, have put a darkness

¹ S. iv. 127.

² A. i. 258.

³ A. i. 260

⁴ AA. ii. 365.

⁵ Vin. i. 21; S. i. 105, III, etc.

⁶ S. i. 128.

⁷ Thig. 57; cf. Thig. 190.

⁸ That is, I think, from sense-pleasures, as explained at SA. i. 189, and does not refer to being 'alone', as stated at K.S. i. 160.

⁹ S. ii. 171 ff.

¹⁰ S. ii. 172.

¹¹ M. i. 173; cf. shorter version at D. i. 245.

round him).¹ Here the escape, which the Commentaries are apt to call *nibbāna*, is however said to be reflection and knowledge.² This must mean reflection on and knowledge of the six senses, a view which could be corroborated by another *Majjhima* passage:³ 'Only a person who comprehends, *pajānāti*, the satisfaction as such (among pleasures of the senses, material shapes and feelings), the peril as such, and the escape as such, can fully know, *parijānāti*, for himself the pleasures of the senses, material shapes and feelings, and can instruct others so that they too can fully know them.' So a complete knowledge of these things demands a full knowledge of their satisfaction, their peril and the escape from them.

Whatever the Commentaries mean precisely whenever they explain *nissaraṇa* by *nibbāna*,⁴ a certain *Samyutta* passage⁵ also comes near to admitting that the former is the result of some notable achievement. It says: 'Whatever ariyan disciple comprehends, *pajānāti*, the uprising and passing away, the satisfaction and the peril of the five sense-organs, *indriya*, and the escape from them as it really is, is called an ariyan disciple who is a stream-attainer, assured, bound for awakening.' A stream-winner has had vision of *nibbāna*; he is on the true way, for he has entered the stream of dhamma.

Pārāpariya, a thera, meditating on sense-perception, says that if a man, not seeing the peril, goes among material shapes and sounds with his organs of sight and hearing not restrained, he is not freed from ill. If he indulges in scents and does not see the escape, *anissaraṇadassavī*, he is not freed from ill, he is longing for scents.⁶ Sight, sounds and scents, in common with the remaining sense-data, are a source of pleasure as well as of pain. According to the formula of casual uprising, it is from contact with sense-data that feeling uprises. But there is an escape from feeling, be it pleasant or painful:

Experiencing pleasure, not knowing feeling,
He becomes addicted to passion, not seeing the escape.

Experiencing pain, not knowing feeling,
He becomes addicted to repugnance, not seeing the escape.⁷

It is not said here what the escape is; and the escape from painful feelings is not sensory pleasure. This is the only escape from them that the average uninstructed person knows,⁸ whereas the instructed ariyan disciple knows an escape from painful feelings apart from pleasures of the senses.

¹ M. i. 174.

² M. A. ii. 193.

³ M. i. 84-90.

⁴ E.g., M. A. ii. 37; cf. Sn. A. 308 *gatinissaraṇaṃ nibbānaṃ pi jānāmi*.

⁵ S. v. 193-194.

⁶ Thag. 730-732.

⁷ S. iv. 205.

⁸ S. iv. 208-209.

A passage in the *Majjhima*¹ should be compared with the *Samyutta* verses just quoted. It too associates a pleasant feeling with addiction to passion, and a painful feeling with an addiction to repugnance; and it then proceeds to the feeling that is neither painful nor pleasant. If someone is experiencing this kind of feeling, but does not know its origin or its passing away or its satisfaction or its peril or the escape from it, an addiction to ignorance obsesses him.² Since ignorance is the root cause of this whole mass of ill, it is quite consistent with this passage to find the *Samyutta* verses continuing as follows:

If there is neither pain nor pleasure, it is taught by the very wise
That, if he rejoices in this, he is not freed from ill.

But if a monk is ardent, does not fail in comprehension,
Then he, a wise one, fully knows all feelings.

He, by fully knowing feelings, is cankerless here and now,
At the breaking up of the body is one on dhamma standing,
He is past reckoning, versed in knowledge.³

It is from other passages that we learn that the escape from feelings lies in the control and ejection of desire and passion for them. It is by facing them, it is not by shunning and avoiding them, which is the way of ignorance, nor is it, on the other hand, by seeking sensory pleasure that the escape is to be made from them. There is here, or so it seems, an echo of the teaching on the Middle Way, *majjhima paṭipadā*, the middle course between the two extremes or dead-ends of self-indulgence and self-torment.

Passages on the escape from the five Hindrances (Group VII) do not say what it consists in, but merely that, if anyone knows this escape, he knows and sees his own good and that of others and that of both himself and others.⁴ Three of the Hindrances, however, appear in some of the other Groups (III and IV) and it is here we must look to discover the escapes.

In regard to Group XIX, that of material things: although there are various references to these, and to there being an escape, it is not explained in the texts what this escape is. Other contexts place dhamma as the opposite of material things, *ānisaṃsa*; for example, 'Be ye therefore heirs of dhamma in me, not heirs of material things'⁵, but we could not confidently deduce from this that dhamma is specifically the escape from material things.

The passages dealing with material things have a tendency to include a kind of formula to the effect that, if a monk has received a gift of almsfood, robe-material, lodgings or medicine, he should

¹ *M.* iii. 285; cf. *S.* iv. 205, 209.

³ *S.* iv. 206-207.

⁴ *S.* v. 124 f.; cf. *A.* iii. 243 ff.

² Cf. *M.* i. 303-304.

⁵ *M.* i. 12.

make use of it 'without clinging, without infatuation, without attachment, seeing the peril, aware of the escape.'¹ A monk such as this is one who, in this connection, is quite pure,² he is one who honours true dhamma,³ and his train of thought is of renunciation, non-ill-will, non-harming, and he is diligent, not slothful.⁴

Now, since renunciation; non-ill-will and non-harming are given in other contexts as the escapes from sense-pleasures, ill-will and harming, it is perhaps not illegitimate to regard them also as the escapes from material goods. On the whole these are taken to be the four requisites. It seems that a virtuous monk renounces all desire for them, is contented with whatever he gets, and is not perturbed if he gets nothing⁵; he also renounces, in accordance with his ascetic's training, all picking and choosing between gifts, and if they do not please him he ejects any desire for them.⁶ The inference to be drawn from the passage, which says that a monk who is not entangled in greed is one who thinks about non-ill-will and non-harming,⁷ is, surely, that he bears no grudge against anyone and wishes him no harm even if he either gives nothing to the monk or something that he does not like. Thus, if this be so, the escape from gifts and material things may be said to lie in thoughts of renunciation, non-ill-will and non-harming; or in the control and rejection of any desire for material things.

In addition to the various kinds of escapes we have noticed, at least five canonical passages mention a 'further escape' or an 'escape beyond', *uttarim nissaranam*,⁸ all of them interesting not only for their leading idea but for the various notions they associate with it.

It appears to have been through ignorance, *avijjāgata*, that a person might be led to speak as if there was not a further escape, as was the case with Baka the Brahṃā.⁹ He spoke of the permanent, the lasting and the eternal as if they were the same as the impermanent, the unlasting and the non-eternal respectively; of the whole as if it were the same as the non-whole; of what is liable to pass away as if it were the same as what is not liable to pass away; and in cases where there is a being born, ageing and dying, and passing (from one birth) and uprising (in another) he said: 'This is not being born and ageing and dying and passing and uprising'. And although there is another further escape he said that there was not.

It would seem that the householder Anāthapiṇḍika understood impermanence better than did Baka. He is reputed to have con-

¹ As also at A. iii. 242, etc.

² A. i. 74.

³ D. iii. 46.

⁴ S. i. 142 = M. i. 326; M. i. 38, iii. 25 ff.; A. iv. 76, v. 188.

⁵ S. i. 142 = M. i. 326.

⁶ A. i. 274.

⁷ A. i. 274.

⁸ D. iii. 46.

⁹ S. ii. 194-195.

founded wanderers by saying¹: 'Whatever has become, is composite, thought out, arisen by way of cause,² all that is impermanent; what is impermanent, that is ill; what is ill, that is not mine, that am I not, that is not myself; having well seen this thus by means of right wisdom as it really is, I comprehended, as it really is, the further escape from it.' Any guess at the nature of this further escape would be hazardous, although it cannot be said of nibbāna that it is composite, thought out or ill, or that it is not-self. Turning back to Groups I and II, we find that an escape from what has become, is composite and has arisen by way of cause, is to be found in stopping them. What has become, is composite and has arisen by way of cause, refers largely to the *khandhas*, all of which are also spoken of as *anatta*, not-self. Yet, although *attā* is the logical opposite of *anatta*, as *saraṇa* is of *nissaraṇa*, it would be unwise to conclude that those passages which stress the need to make of self a lamp and refuge, *attasaraṇa*, suggest that this is a refuge or escape from what is not-self or for what is not-self. For the self that is to be the refuge can hardly have anything to do with non-self.

Another passage brings us to the point where the stopping or ceasing, *nirodha*, of perception and feeling is the escape beyond which there is no further escape. This is the last of the nine stages in the meditative or contemplative process. As it is recorded,³ step by step Sāriputta knows that, having successively attained the four stages in meditation, *jhāna*, from each of them there is a further escape. The contemplative is not to stay in any of them, not to remain there, but is to go further in contemplation, to the plane of infinite space. But this has a further escape—the plane of infinite consciousness, and this the plane of naught, and this has neither perception nor non-perception as its further escape; while the further escape from this is the stopping of knowing and feeling. Here Sāriputta knows that at last there is no further escape. Therefore in this connection the final escape is the final meditative stage, the stopping of knowing and feeling, *saññāvedayitānirodha*.

Although, in the meditative process there may be no further escape once the stopping of perceiving and feeling has been attained, the *Majjhima* states⁴ that there is a further escape from what is perceived, or from perception, *saññāgata*. 'Whoever knows: There is this, there is the low, there is the excellent, there is a further escape from this that is perceived—the mind of one who knows thus, who sees thus is freed from the cankers of sense-pleasures, of becoming, of ignorance, and in freedom the knowledge comes to be that he is freed; and he comprehends: Destroyed is birth, lived

¹ A. v. 188.

³ M. iii. 25 ff.

² Cf. It. p. 61; D. iii. 275.

⁴ M. i. 38.

is the Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such or such.' He, in fact, utters one of the formulae of arahantship. The Commentary refers the whole position to the *brahmavihāras*¹ which have been mentioned previously in the text, and the practice of which, as other canonical records show, leads to rebirth in the Brahma-world and not to arahantship. But 'this', according to the Commentary, is arahantship; 'the low' is penetrating the truth of the uprising of ill; 'the excellent' is the uprising of the truth of the Way. Endowed with this perception of the *brahmavihāras*, one knows that there is the further escape which is nibbāna.

This commentarial exegesis, that there is a further escape from the perception of the *brahmavihāras*, is as much as to say that although one has attained the Brahma-world through their practice, and not arahantship, there is nevertheless a further escape—one may pass on from a Brahma-world. This view is corroborated by an *Anguttara* passage,² which states that there is a further escape from the Brahma-world. So no one, neither a brahman nor anyone who practises the *brahmavihāras* in their completion, need feel that, having attained the Brahma-world, there is no escape from it, or that his remaining life-spans will have to be spent there.

By its use of the word 'escape' it seems to me that the Early Buddhist teaching cannot be accused of 'escapism' as used in the modern sense. Present-day escapism means to turn one's back on life and living, throw off the usual mundane responsibilities, and lead a life devoted to the fulfilment of selfish aims, shutting oneself up in a world of one's own. The escape in Early Buddhism was no easy way out of the tangle of living. As usual, this teaching likes us to face facts, and get to know and comprehend all that goes to make up mortality. With this comes a stern control of self, based on a thorough knowledge of things as they really are: to know fully that all is passing and transitory is no longer to hanker after it, no longer to feel dejection at not possessing it. When one is able to turn away and to disregard one is calmed; and when one is calmed one is freed. To 'get free'³ was part of the ideal. 'As the great ocean has but one taste, that of salt, so this dhamma and discipline have but one taste, that of freedom.'⁴ Interwoven as the whole of the early teaching is, it is therefore perfectly consistent that some of the escapes should be the same as some of the freedoms, namely those of the mind, or heart (see Group IV). Since escape is not, however, central in the teaching, not of absolutely primary importance, one would not expect to find it connected with the freedom than which there is nothing higher. One of the highest kinds of

¹ *MA.* i. 176.

³ *Thig.* 2.

² *A.* iv. 76.

⁴ *Vin.* ii. 237; *Ud.* 55; *A.* iv. 203.

freedom, owing its position to its close connection with the winning of arahantship, is unshakable freedom of mind, *akuppā cetovimutti*. Having points in common with the freedom called *asamayavimutti*, the freedom which is neither temporal nor temporary, and from which there is no falling away, this unshakable freedom of mind 'is the goal of the Brahma-faring, this the core, this the culmination.'¹ No such claim ever appears to have been made for *nissaraṇa*, although as I have tried to show, it was to some extent contributory to the winning of freedom. It certainly does not exist as some detached or independent aspect of a teaching, strongly marked as is Early Buddhism by its solidarity.

¹ *M. i.* 197, 201.

BUDDHISM IN MALAYA

By RICHARD WINSTEDT

Buddhism with its abolition of caste barriers and of the prejudice against crossing the sea and being polluted by barbarians was one of the influences that led to Indian traffic with the Malay Peninsula at the beginning of the Christian era. Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah and in Province Wellesley, that was formerly part of Kedah, were chiselled in Sanskrit as early as the fourth century A.D. And the great sailor from Rakta-mṛtika, Buddhagupta, who erected a pillar at Bukit Meriam, in that century or earlier, was probably by no means the first Buddhist adventurer to cross the Bay of Bengal. It had been supposed that the Buddhism of these early traders was Hinayana only. But in 1940 (*JRAS. Malayan Branch*, XVIII, pt. 1) Dr. Quaritch Wales published his discovery, on the river Bujang (? = Bhujangga) in Kedah, of a Mahayanist inscription on a clay tablet. The Sanskrit defied identification until a young Chinese scholar in Paris traced it to the *Sagaramatipariprechā*. The script was in Pallava Grantha and has been dated by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti as early in the sixth century A.D.

At another site on the same river Dr. Quaritch Wales found a crude image of a Buddha belonging to the Gupta period (*ib.* XX, pt. 1, 1947). This little standing bronze appears contemporary with a much-damaged small standing Buddha from Tanjong Rambutan in Perak. Stylistically both are older than two other Hinayana images from the same district of Kinta in Perak, which are of Gupta type and have been attributed to the fifth or sixth century A.D.

Then for a while the Hinduism of the Pallavas prevailed, until the famous Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. introduces the far-flung Malayo-Buddhist empire of Sri Vijaya. Many papers have been written about that empire and the Ligor stone. The two most recent are one by Professor F. D. K. Bosch in the *Tijdschrift* (*deel* LXXXI, *af.* 1; 1941) of the Royal Batavian Society, and one on the 'Cailendra Interregnum' by F. H. van Naerssen in 'India Antiqua', a volume presented to Dr. J. P. Vogel (Leiden, 1947). Dr. Bosch, contradicting the theory of Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the two faces of the Ligor stone refer to different persons, would make the Maharaja of the inscription a Sailendra prince from Java, who had just become ruler of Sri Vijaya by marriage with a daughter of the ruler of the old Sumatran Buddhist kingdom of that name. He surmises that Java's Chandi Kalasan was built in honour of this lady, to whom was due the conversion of the Sailendras to Buddhism.

With the advent of this princely house we reach a Pala Mahayanist culture, derived not only from South India but Bengal. This influence is apparent in three Mahayanist bronzes of Avalokitesvara from Perak, all of a type purely Indian. But why was it that the Sailendras, when driven from Java, did not continue their architectural zeal and build great monuments in Kedah and in Palembang, their Sumatran capital? The answer may be that from neolithic times the Javanese had been artists, but the Malays who manned the fleets of Sri Vijaya were men of the sea.

After many blows, from rival Sumatran jambi, from the advent of Islam and the assaults of Hindu Majapahit, the far-flung empire of Sri Vijaya broke up, and Buddhism vanished from the Malay world. But traces of its culture survive in the use of water for oil to anoint rulers at their installation, in the incantations of village medicine-men, and in folk-lore. There are Jataka tales of dogs trying to drink a river dry, of a 'tar baby', of the jackal staging a mock funeral in order to catch a goat: for all three of these tales there are Malay mouse-deer versions. It is possible that an early collection of Malay tales (*Hikayat Pelandok Jinaka*), probably from Kedah, marks the beginning of Muslim prejudice against the older religion, that is, if the celebrated Dutch scholar van der Tunk is right in deriving *jinaka* from the Sanskrit *jainaka* 'a little or contemptible Jaina or Buddhist, used always of one who took advantage of the credulity of man and applied to mouse-deer as the hero of a romance which has a bias against Buddhism.'

Malay folk-romances have been mostly imported from Sumatra. In them the birth of the hero prince is modelled closely on that of the Buddha, when all the worlds quivered, musical instruments sounded of their own accord, birds ceased flying and rivers checked their flow. Verse passages in some of the Malay folk romances owe their origin to the Tamil Buddhist story of Manimekalai.

After the establishment of Islam by Indian missionaries, allusions to Buddhism in Malay literature are indirect and unsuspected. An example is the three Malay versions, translated from Arabic and Persian, of the story of Ibrahim of Balkh, who imitated the Buddha by abandoning a throne for a life of ascetic piety.*

Right down to modern times the lotus has remained a favourite *motif* in the Malay silver-ware made in the State of Perak.

* A fuller account of Buddhist traces in Malay folk-lore will be found in my 'History of Malay Literature' (*JRAS.*, Malayan Branch, Vol. XVII, pt. 3, 1940).

THE PLANT KARNIKĀRA IN KĀLIDĀSA'S WORKS

By C. A. RYLANDS

असूत सद्यः कुसुमान्यशोकः स्तब्धत्वंभवेव सपल्लवानि ।
 पादेन नापैक्षत सुन्दरीणां संपर्कमाशिक्षितनूपुरेण ॥
 सख्युः प्रवालोल्लसच्छपले नीते समाप्तिं नवचूतबाणे ।
 निवेशयामास मधुर्द्विरेफाम्नामाक्षराणौ मनोभवस्य ॥
 वर्णप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं दुनोति निर्गन्धतया स्म चेत्तः ।
 प्रायेण सामग्र्यविधौ गुणानां पराङ्मुखी विश्वरुजः प्रवृत्तिः ॥
 बालेन्दुवक्राण्यविकासभावाद्भुः पलाशान्यतिलोहितानि ।
 सद्यो वसन्तेन समागतानां नखक्षतानीव वनस्थलौनाम् ॥

Kumārasambhava 3. 26-29.

These verses show direct observation of the spring-flowering trees: the tendency of the Aśoka to put forth its flower-heads from the branches, or even from the trunk; the coral-coloured young leaves of the mango; the crescent-shaped buds of the Palāśa. But what is Karnikāra? It must have been well known to Kālidāsa's readers; but Sir William Jones sent out pandits to bring him a specimen, and wondered that they could not find it (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4, 1795). In Bengal indeed there seems to be no tradition regarding the name, and the modern investigator must rely on books.

First, our aim being to discover Kālidāsa's plant, and aware that other plants may at different times or in different parts of India have had the same name, we search his works for passages containing the word which may give some description or clue from habitat or season of flowering. We next consult with due caution the commentaries on these passages. Then we look for the word in other authors, especially the early ones, including the ancient lexicons with their commentaries, and the medical works and glossaries, which, although they do not describe the plants they mention, sometimes contain names that are something of a description. Lastly there is the evidence, which requires careful handling, of the names of known plants in the modern languages.

Applying these methods to Karnikāra we see first from *Kum.* 3. 28 that it was without scent. This rules out the usual identification with *Pterospermum acerifolium*, for this tree (Kanak champa)

has conspicuously scented flowers. Then it is bright-coloured; but what colour? The verse

अशोकनिर्भस्मितपद्मरागमाकृत्यहेमद्युतिकर्णिकारम् ।
मुक्ताकलापीकृतसिन्दुवारं वसन्तपुष्पाभरणं वदन्ती ॥

Kum. 3. 53.

shows it is yellow, and this is confirmed by passages in *Mbh.* (*Supīta*, *suvarṇavarṇa*), and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (*hiraṇmayabhujair iva Karṇikāraḥ*); and perhaps by *Daśakumāracarita* (*Karṇikāragaurah*), and in Pali by *Visuddhimagga* 256. Other passages in Kālidāsa, *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Jātakas* and other works say that the tree grows on hillsides and that its flowers are suitable for ear-ornaments, but we cannot infer much from these, and mostly the name occurs in conventional lists. The commentators show no sign of being familiar with the tree, and the later ones quote *Amara-kośa*, which in its only mention of the word gives as synonyms *parivyādha* and *drumotpala*. Now *drumotpala* is usually believed to be *Pterospermum acerifolium*, and the modern name *Karṇikāra* or *Kaṇiyār* seems to be applied nowadays in the west of India to this tree, which is certainly not Kālidāsa's.

The *Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu* (in its original form said to be older than *Amara*) puts us on the right track: it has one list of synonyms headed *āragvadha* (which is *Cassia fistula*, *amaltās* in Hindi, *sonāli* in Bengali); and the next list, headed *āragvadha viśeṣa*, contains the word *Karṇikāra*. Probably then our plant is some species of *Cassia*, and it remains to find which species best suits the requirements: yellow flowers, no scent, blooming in spring, and sufficiently well known in ancient India to have been put beside the *Aśoka*, the *mango* and the *Palāśa*.

SIDDHAYATRA AGAIN

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

I have read with great care Dr. Chhabra's note on this term in *Indian Culture*, XIV, 4, pp. 201-4 and write these few lines with considerable hesitation as I do not think that either of us is carrying knowledge further by these notes. The innuendo in the verse *yasya kasya*, etc., the long note on Pāṇini III, 3, 114 and the two new instances he has cited, as he thinks, to clinch the issue, leave my withers unwrung. I see that he sticks to his view after reading my article in the *Journal of the Greater India Society* IV, and after reading his present note, I do not feel called upon to change mine. He seems to have missed the point of my remark that the *Pañcatantra* and *Jātakamālā* were anterior to the Indonesian inscriptions; I was thinking of semantic changes in the meanings of words and phrases in different ages, countries, and contexts. From this point of view the two new examples of Dr. Chhabra do not also differ from his previous illustrations of his position. But even of these, though the citation from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (16. 40) supports him, I doubt if the *phalaśruti* of the *Mahābhārata* is so much on his side. What is the meaning of saying that merchants would make successful voyages by studying the great epic? Is there no suggestion of occult magical potency here? Monier-Williams in his Dictionary says that *Siddha-yātriḥ* is wrong reading for *Siddhi-Yātriḥ*, and explains the latter as 'one who makes pilgrimages to learn magical arts or to gain good luck or beatitude', and refers to the *Pañcatantra*. I am not concerned to deny the ordinary meaning of *Siddhayātrā*, a successful journey; but I do not think that anything Dr. Chhabra has urged invalidates the view that the word has an occult import surely in the Kedukan Bukit inscription and the loose stone inscriptions of Telaga Batu (Palembang) and possibly also in the Nhan-bieu and other records. I may mention that Dr. Krom has done exactly what Dr. Chhabra thinks I should have done, viz. to point out a shrine to which pilgrimages were made in Indonesia. He does this in his paper *Die Heiligdommen van Palembang* (Med. Kon. Ned. Akad. Afd. Lett., 1938, No. 7). Perhaps Dr. Chhabra may also usefully reflect on the analogy between *Siddhayātrā* as Huber, Coedes, and I understand it, and the words *Siddha-varti* and *Siddha-añjana* meaning, respectively, magical wick and magical ointment (Monier-Williams).

ANTAKA

By W. STEDE

Man lives a double life: that of reality and that of the mental construction. Ordinarily he moves in the latter. Life itself is positive, the construction is negative, full of doubt, and it searches for means of release from itself. Thus it is and becomes more and more an obstruction to life. It may be said to be a human device for fitting the Eternal into Time. The Dhamma (Norm) is not in time, it is *akālika*; *dhammatā* (normality) is a construction and changes with time. The idea of Nothingness is a mental (untrue) construction; all figures representing Gods are mental constructions, superimposed on forces of Reality. But the Dhamma, the Imperishable and Eternal, is Life itself.

The mental construction is a conscious inhibition of the life-instinct, it is protection against fear and consequently produces more fear. But because it is a reaction against compulsion it produces a greater conscious realization of Life. For life will always demand its own right, will ultimately have its way at the cost of death which is an unalterable fact in the scheme of life. The construction rebels against death and finds subtle means of doing away with it. We argue it out of life and deceive ourselves over its fundamental necessity, and so the construction creates the illusion and expresses it in words and phrases that death itself has been deceived, that Antaka has been beaten.

In this view of self-deception death is evil and life is evil because it leads to death. It is a hopeless failure to square the formidable reality of life with fictitious imaginations: there is only one way of grappling with this reality (including that of death) and to alleviate its tragedy of suffering: that is the good life, the hallowing of the life of sin, error and ignorance, by the sublime life, the life in God (*brahma-cariya*), and only by leading this best life can the Dhamma, the reality of universal necessity, be fulfilled. The fiction which screens and covers a fictitious world is the mass of darkness and ignorance which must be destroyed by acknowledgment of the Fact in all its bareness and bitterness, by a view which sees the things as they are and makes them its own through their being experienced in every self.

Antaka is a fiction, and the only way of dealing with this fiction is to recognize it as such and to turn it into an Anantaka, into the never-ending reality of Eternal Life. Antaka can refer only to the evil principle in man's moral constitution, to an embodiment of the

Tempter, like Māra, the name being based on a primitive analogy which regards the end of life as the reward (punishment) of sin.

To destroy Antaka means to put an end to sin, to make an end of moral death, but it can never mean (although it has been imagined to mean) to overcome the fact of physical death, which can never be overcome. Man's physical death is in itself *life* but Evil is moral death and can be turned into more good and happiness through the good life which is equal to Immortality. This immortality or *Amata* is not a thing to be had or acquired by knowledge like everything else in the sphere of mental construction, but it is to be won and held only by exertion and earnestness in finding out a higher and better mode of life than merely living by the illusion of the intellect.

Why is death so ugly, so repulsive? Not because it destroys life as such, but because it kills the hope of life, its ideal, the holy life, and breaks into the ordered course of events which seeks release from life by legitimate means, by sublimation and sanctification, and ensures a better life at the next chance of life. Antaka is the shadow which spreads over the spiritual life and covers it with the darkness of sin. The physical and the spiritual are so closely inter-linked in the ancient Indian view of life that it is impossible to keep their courses and aspects apart and to speak of the transference of the one notion to the other or the metaphorical use of the one for the other. They are so much one that even what we call the purely physical life is governed by ethical factors and proceeds under the influence of moral forces in all its stages. Therefore Antaka is the morally evil principle of life which although incidentally destroying physical life does far greater harm in inflicting a deadly blow on the spiritual life by hindering its full effect on the final and definite release. It is true that release must be won, but it must be brought about by man's own and voluntary effort and not by an arbitrary, forceful and foreign agency such as is represented by the 'Killer' (Māra) and the 'Ender' (Antaka). These two embodiments of the life-antagonistic ideas are unlawful agents because they act *against* the Dhamma, whereas Mrtyu (Maccu) and Yama are lawful agents because they act with the sanction of Dhamma, nay, *are* embodiments of the Dhamma although they hold sway over the extinction of life as cruel and yet kind genii.

The mental construction is determined by factors of real life such as health, climate, change of surroundings, demands of others on ourselves. It is therefore always relative and never authoritative, nor does it ever coincide with reality. The Dhamma, on the other hand, is the pure, unadulterated reality, as incomprehensible and unfathomable as the Great Ocean. It is not a state of affairs into which the childish fancies of limited human creatures are projected when they imagine that they come into this ephemeral and

vanishing life once or twice or forever and ever. These fancies do not touch the real life.

At the same time the unfathomable law and order takes shape and grace and becomes accessible to the human heart, quite apart from any calculation in space and time, in the dhamma of the 'sat', the good and noble people (sappurisā), in the form of a life of holiness and purity, the brahmacariya. This is the inner reality which holds its own against the crushing necessity of the outward reality, and its sustenance and reward are peace and contentment. If this 'released' condition (nibbāna) which is free from the attacks of the Evil One, is, by an unavoidable mental construction, transferred and projected into a happy state after death, into a heaven, we must allow for this human failure, just as we have to allow for the illusion of 'no more renewed existences'. One can understand and forgive these aberrations from reality in this world of mortals because the Dhamma is deep and difficult, hard to comprehend and to wake up to, and its weight is so tremendous that those upon whom it falls in its fulness, are liable to break down under its load.

Almost synonymous (as far as words go) with brahmacariya is the expression brahmavihāra, abiding-in-God, one (if not the main) aspect of the brahmacariya, walking-in-God, and consisting in the cultivation of the four cardinal Buddhist virtues of mettā, karuṇā, muditā, upekkhā, i.e. love, compassion, gentleness, equanimity. Here we must beware of transferring the condition of release to a life in heaven, and even Buddhaghosa falls back upon a mental construction when, at the end of his exegesis of the divine state of love, he says: 'He (who lives in God) cannot come to any further sanctification after the fulfilment of love, but, when he goes from here, he shifts to heaven (brahmaloka, God's world) like one awaking from sleep.'

Buddhism in its 'unmonasticated' form lays stress on the value and beauty of life for its own sake. It would be strange if that were not so, for Buddhists are not different from the rest of humanity, and humanity falls in with the rest of creation in being a living testimony to the grandeur of life. Life is indeed the keynote of creation. In the Pali Canon we would not come across so many passages which bewail the brevity of life if it were not for a genuine and natural desire for its preservation. The clinging to life goes even so far as to make the ministering angel exclaim to the impaled man 'live, O friend, for life indeed is best' (Petavatthu IV. i. 6), even in the depth of misery because life affords chances for improvement.

Incidentally, a few much-desired adjuncts of the life-ideal are mentioned under particular blessings and special endowments (iddhi) bestowed on good and fortunate people such as world-rulers and leaders of men. They are, amongst many others, a beautiful

and strong body, perfect health, a good digestion, and dwelling in a decent climate. One also frequently comes across the formula *ciraṃ jīvāhi* 'long may you live', which is not merely a phrase of politeness but represents a vote of thanks and gratitude. It is often combined with the blessing *sukhito hohi* 'may you be happy'.

In striking contrast to this natural instinct, a strange view of the consummation of the holy life is expressed and reiterated in the stereotype exultation at the end of so-called conversion. It is fourfold and runs: 'Khīṇā jāti vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ nāparaṃ itthattāya (or: natthi dāni punabbhavo)', i.e. exhausted is (the chance of) birth, the walk-in-God has been lived, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further than this condition (or: there is now no more re-existence).

Happy is he who, when his last hour comes, will be able to say: 'the holy life has been lived and my duty has been fulfilled': that will be enough for him, for others and for the Dhamma. He will, however, not find consolation in the first assertion ('birth has run out') which he will dismiss as a mental construction, *avyākata*, irrelevant, and in that he will follow the Wanderer Gotama who declared that questions about the future condition of a 'released one' were as futile and dangerous as they are unanswerable. Equally he will dismiss the fourth ('there is no more rebirth') as a mental construction; but the middle part, centring in the holy life, is his own, real experience of truth. It is the core and kernel of the Dhamma and in full accord with the spirit and the word of Gotama Buddha.

On the same superstitious level stands the phrase *antimadeha-dhārin* 'wearing the final body'. How can anybody know whether he is wearing the first or the last or the 150th body? What is the relation between the wearer and that which is worn, if it can be said at all that he wears, i.e. possesses the body, which in the Buddhist view of anattā he does not?

It is not likely that a sudden change in a person's mental outlook (conversion), mostly due to a wave of emotion, should radically affect the course of the physical Universe so as to direct the stream of evolution into different channels. To be reborn is a far more serious and complicated matter than to wake up from sleep. It is a superhuman, cosmic process and happens *dhammena*, according to the unknown, intrinsic order of the Cosmos. People who talk about rebirth do not know what is involved in their talk. Those who have thought about it dismiss any speculation about it as a mental construction, and therefore not the Dhamma 'as it is' (*yathābhūtaṃ*).

BĀHMAN FROM GAUDA IN THE SERVICE OF CHAMBA RULERS

By B. CH. CHHABRA

Those interested in Indian archaeology are no doubt familiar with Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's masterly work on *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, which appeared as early as 1911. In this the learned author has dealt with the antiquities and inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period. It was his intention to publish the inscriptions of the later period in Part II, the preparation of which he had already taken up before he left India in 1912 for Holland, his native country. There he became Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology at the University of Leyden. The task of preparing Part II of his book somehow remained unfinished.

As a result of the negotiations between Prof. Vogel and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the then Director General of Archaeology in India, I was deputed to edit the unpublished inscriptions in the Chamba State, for which purpose I spent the summer months of the year 1939 at Chamba, the headquarters of the state. The inscriptions to be edited by me are eighty-one in number. Most of them are copper charters. I finished my job in the subsequent year, but the work has not yet seen the light of the day owing to the conditions created by the war and its aftermath.

In the course of my examination of the copper-plate grants, I came across a number of interesting facts one of which forms the subject-matter of the present paper. Prof. Vogel has pointed out that 'it was the Rājaguru who used to be charged with the duty of drawing up the grant and whose name is commonly found at the end.'¹ He illustrates this by saying: 'This, at least, was the custom during the Muhammadan period. Thus we find the name of Paṇḍit Surānand on some of the plates of Gaṇeśavarman, that of his son Ramāpati on those of Pratāp Singh, and that of Ramāpati's son Lakṣmīkānt on most of the plates of Balabhadra.'²

I may add that the three Paṇḍits just named belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and that their original home was the country of Gauda, that is to say, somewhere in Bengal. In Gaṇeśavarman's plates where Paṇḍit Surānanda figures as the composer of the charters, we have no description of the Paṇḍit himself. They simply mention: *sat-paṇḍita-śrī-Surānandaśarman* = *ālekhi*, i.e. 'it has been written by the noble Paṇḍit Surānandaśarman.' In the case of

¹ *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt. I, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*

his son Ramāpati, however, we have several inscriptions both of Pratāpasirṃha and of Balabhadra, which acquaint us with his descent and native place. He served as Rājaguru under both Pratāpasirṃha and his grandson Balabhadra in succession, from both of whom he received gifts of lands as *gurudakṣiṇā* at the time when he initiated each of the two rulers. The grants recording such donations describe Ramāpati in the following terms: *Gauḍa-deśīya Bhaṭṭācārya-śiromaṇi śrī-Surānanda-putra tri-kula-nirmala tri-sandhy-opāsaka and ṣaṭ-karma-rata*. It may be noted that the family title *Bhaṭṭācārya*, peculiar to a class of Brāhmins in Bengal, continues to this day. In other charters where Ramāpati appears not as a donee but as a writer, he usually gives his father's name, whom he sometimes calls Surottama instead of Surānanda.

As regards Lakṣmīkānta, he is mentioned as a writer in a number of inscriptions of Balabhadra and Prthvisirṃha, but almost everywhere in the following form: *likhitam = idam paṇḍita-Lakṣmīkāntena*. It is thus not evident whether he was Ramāpati's son. On the other hand, in one of Balabhadra's inscriptions, the writer of which is again Lakṣmīkānta, the donee is a Brāhman, called Dharaṇīdhara, who is stated to be son of Paṇḍit Ramāpati of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. If Lakṣmīkānta was also Ramāpati's son, then Ramāpati had at least two sons, Lakṣmīkānta and Dharaṇīdhara.

Of the three Rājagurus, Ramāpati is the most conspicuous. He served under two rulers in succession. He was in service at least for forty-three years, the earliest reference to him being in an inscription dated A.D. 1575 and the latest in another dated A.D. 1618. The records drawn up by him are grammatically more correct than the rest of the lot and, at the same time, exhibit a more dignified style of composition, thereby reflecting a great credit on his learning and scholarship.

Surānanda, the father of Ramāpati, is first mentioned in one of Ganeśavarman's inscriptions, which is dated A.D. 1558, from which we may infer that he came to Chamba about that time, or say a few years prior to that.

It is indeed interesting to know that a Brāhman travelled all the way from Gauḍa to such a remote region in the northern Hīmalayas as the hill state of Chamba, settled there and was a recipient of high honours at the hands of the local royal family. It may be observed that Surānanda's visit to Chamba roughly synchronized with the accession of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. We have no means to ascertain as to what necessitated Surānanda to leave his home-land for good. Perhaps he came there as a devotee on a pilgrimage to pay his homage to Maṇimaheśa, whose far-famed sacred shrine is within the territory of the Chamba State, and, being enamoured of the charms of Chamba, decided to spend the rest of his life there itself.

Pt. Thakur Das, the present Rājaguru at Chamba, related to me the following traditional account regarding Surānanda: 'Surānanda came to Chamba as a youthful *brahmacārin* from a distant land. At that time the Rājaguru of the then ruler of Chamba was a Brāhman of the Gautama *gotra*. He had a daughter as his only child, and no son who might succeed him as Rājaguru. And he could not find a suitable match for his daughter either, who had arrived at the marriageable age. It was at this juncture that Surānanda made his appearance there. The worried Rājaguru took a fancy to the newly-arrived *baṭu* and persuaded him to marry his daughter. Surānanda accepted her hand and in course of time stepped into his father-in-law's shoes as Rājaguru.' His lineage continued till recently in Chamba. Paṇḍit Mohan Lal, the Rājaguru previous to the present one, was, it is said, a direct descendant of Surānanda.

REFERENCES TO THE CUSTOM OF HOLDING GRASS IN THE MOUTH AS A TOKEN OF SURRENDER IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN SOURCES

By P. K. GODE

A historical and comparative study of Indian proverbial lore is a great desideratum in the field of Indology. A glance at the contents of the dictionaries of proverbs will convince all serious students about the necessity of such a study. Imaginary explanations of current proverbs spring up in the absence of their historical study and the only way to weed out these mushrooms is to undertake a serious study of the proverbs on the strength of documentary evidence arranged in a chronological order.

I propose in the present paper to trace the history of a proverb now current in the Marathi language, viz. “दांती दण घरणे” (holding grass in one’s mouth) which MOLESWORTH in his *Marathi-English Dictionary* (p. 408) explains as ‘To humble one’s self; to acknowledge defeat or subjection; to profess submission.’ Molesworth does not record any usages of this proverb in his *Dictionary*. KARVE and DATE in their *Sabdakoṣa* (1935), p. 1555, do not also record any usages of this proverb; hence it is difficult to say when this proverb became current in the Marathi language.¹

In the *Sunday Chronicle* of Bombay for 24th December, 1939, I read an article on ‘Daria Dowlat’ of Tippu Sultan and its frescoes. One of these frescoes depicts a ‘battle scene’ which shows Colonel Baille ‘with a stalk of grass held between his teeth—the artist’s depiction of the sign of submission’ according to the author of the article under reference. Here then we have a pictorial representation of the Marathi proverb some time before A.D. 1799. This picture is referred to by Pandit Chitrav Shastri in his article on Tippu (A.D. 1753–1799) in his *Madhyayugina Caritrakoṣa* (Poona, 1937, p. 420). ‘Daria Dowlat’ was the name of Tippu’s palace, situated on the banks of the river Kāverī between Lālbāg and Fort.

¹ In the *Dictionary of Marathi Proverbs* (महाराष्ट्र वाक्यप्रदायकोश) by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Poona, Vol. I (1942), p. 643, the custom and proverb about holding grass in mouth are explained with the following illustrative extract:—

“आणि ते झोपा काढून व दांती दण घरून श्रीमंत आयासाहेबांना शरण आले”

V.S. 2. 43.

This is a description of the Portuguese surrender to the Peshwa Chimaji Appa in A.D. 1739 (Siege of Bassein). The Portuguese took off their hats and with grass in their mouths surrendered to the Peshwa.

In a Marathi work called *Camatkārī Gītā* (चमत्कारौ गीता) by Ramāvallabhadāsa alias Tukopant, edited and published at Hubli, 1925, we are informed that the author of this work composed his works between A.D. 1633 and 1636 (vide Introduction, p. 3). On page 5 of the *Camatkārī Gītā* there is a splendid description¹ of the storming of the Deogiri fort about A.D. 1627, when Tukopant was about 18 years old. In this description the author refers to the proverb 'holding grass between teeth' as a sign of surrender ("अधौर दांतीं हण धरितो"). It is clear from this reference that the proverb we are studying historically was current in the Marathi language more than 350 years ago.

In the celebrated Marathi chronicle called the *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (ed. by K. N. Sane, Poona, 1912) we get the following references to the proverb under reference:—

Page 24—"भांडते लोकांनीं तोंडी हण धरून शरण आले".

Page 65—"रायबागौण कोंडली. तिने दातीं हण धरून", etc.

The date of this chronicle is about A.D. 1695.

In the Sanskrit Campūkāvya called the *Viśvagunādarśa* (N.S. Press, Bombay, page 99) by Venkātādhvari (about A.D. 1650) there is a description of the Āndhra country (आन्ध्रदेशवर्णन) in which we find the following stanza:—

“युद्धाय प्रमिलन्तु हन्त पटवो योधाः सहस्राधिका
यद्येकोऽपि बलात्तुल्य-यवनेव्हारुडघोटो भटः ।
निस्त्रिंशं परिक्रमयन् स्वकामिष्कामति क्रोधतः
सर्वे ते ह्रपयास्तृणान्यशरणा खादन्ति सौदन्ति च ॥ १६३ ॥”

The commentator explains the reference to the proverb in the fourth line of the above verse as follows:—

“हणभक्तकान् वल्लीकारुडोच्च वीरास्त्यजन्ति इति प्रसिद्धेः” ।

¹ This picturesque description reads as follows:—

“धौर ते 'वीरमोक्ष' पावतो । अधौर दांती हण धरितो ।

कोणी अश सांडनी पळतो । कोणी मागती जीवदान ।

कोणी शस्त्रास्त्र त्यजितो । दीनत्वे पाया लागतो ।

कोणी घायाळ कुंथितो । प्राण सोडितो भये कोणी ।

देशतां शस्त्रांचा लखलखाट । आणि शस्त्रांचा सणसणाट ।

आणि यंत्रांचा घडघडाट । भये पोढे फुगली कोणा ॥”

The expression “यंत्रांचा घडघडाट” means the ‘thunder of yantras or guns’ which were common in Indian warfare at this time (see my article on *Guns and Powder in India from A.D. 1400 onwards* in Sir Denison Ross Volume, 1939, pp. 117-124).

(It is well known that warriors don't pursue people who hold grass in their mouth or those who sit on an ant-hill.)¹

Rudrakavi in his *Rāṣṭraudha-varṇa-mahākāvya* (G.O. Series, Baroda, 1917, p. 71) gives a description of the defeat of the King of Jawhar² (Bombay Presidency) by the King of Bāglān. In this description the Jawhar chief is described as “मुखे दणं कंठतटे कुठारं” (‘holding grass in his mouth, with the enemy's battle-axe on his neck’). This description shows the complete surrender of the Jawhar chief to the Bāglān ruler. Rudrakavi composed this *mahākāvya* in A.D. 1596.

Emperor Baber in his *Memoirs* (Trans. by W. Erskine, 1826) refers to the custom of holding grass between teeth as a sign of surrender, which was current among the Afghans about A.D. 1500 as will be seen from the following extract:—

Page 159—‘The Afghans when they are reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth; being as much as to say “I am your ox”.’

‘This custom³ I first observed on the present occasion; for the Afghans, when they could not maintain the contest, approached us with grass in their teeth. Orders were given for beheading such of them as had been brought in alive and a minaret⁴ was erected of their heads at our next halting place.’

From Baber's time (A.D. 1483-1530) we go backwards in our search for references to the custom under reference and come to A.D. 1305, when Merutuṅga composed his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (Trans. by Tawney, Calcutta, 1901). This work also refers to the custom in the following lines:—

Page 55—‘Since even enemies are let off when near death, if they take grass⁵ in their mouths,

¹ I have not understood this allusion to *Sitting on the ant-hill* as a sign of surrender.

² See verse 61 of Canto XII of *Rāṣṭraudha-varṇa-mahākāvya*, which reads as follows:—

“मुखे दणं कंठतटे कुठारं कला अवारिचिनिपः सकम्पः ।

दयासमुद्रं शरणं शरणं नारायणं भूपतिमाजगाम ॥ ६१ ॥”

³ ‘It is as old as the time of the heroes of *Shahnāmah*, or at least of Ferdausi.’—*Erskine*.

⁴ ‘This barbarous custom has always prevailed among the Tartar conquerors of Asia.’—*Erskine*.

⁵ In the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (N.S. Press, Bombay, 1911, p. 244) we find the following *subhāṣita* about the deer (*mṛga*) which is not spared by the hunters even though it holds the grass in its mouth:—

“दणमुच्यमपि न खलु तां त्यजन्ति चे हरिण वैरिणः श्वराः ।

यश्चेव जीवितमिदं त्यज योजितशूद्रसङ्ग्रामः ॥”

how can you slay these harmless beasts who always feed on grass?’

Tawney at the end of his Translation of the *Prabandhacintāmani* records the following learned note on Merutuṅga’s reference to the custom of holding grass in mouth as a sign of surrender:—

Page 210—‘Page 55, line 23 (text, p. 93, 6), “They take grass in their mouths”.’

This is an allusion to a most ancient custom. Cf. *Harṣacarita*,¹ 132, 11 (Commentary, कृतं कातरैर्मुखे ध्रियते); *Caṇḍakaṣṣika*,² 3rd Act: Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 382ff.; *Grimm Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 121ff.; 604, 205, 431 (Z). The passage referred to in the *Harṣacarita* will be found at the page indicated, in the Bombay Edition of 1892. Cowell and Thomas, in their translation, p. 101, note 4, say, ‘To carry a straw in the mouth was a sign of surrender’; cf. Acworth’s *Maratha Ballads*, p. 43.

‘And ’twixt the teeth a straw is fit
For curs who arm but to submit.’

Liebrecht quotes from Elliot’s *Glossary of Indian Terms*, ‘Whoever wishes to appease the anger of an opponent takes a straw or a blade of grass in his mouth, and at the same time stands on one leg.’ Liebrecht finds traces of the custom in Europe. An extract which he makes from Campbell’s *Popular Tales of the Western Highlands* (II, 304) is particularly interesting, ‘He went to the fair and he took a straw in his mouth, to show that he was taking service.’ It was, I believe, the custom in England³ in old times, for people who wished to be hired as false witnesses, to sit with straws in their mouths. The reference in the *Caṇḍakaṣṣika* will be found in the Bombay Edition of 1860 on folio 11a (last line of the page) and on page 69 of the

¹ Vide *Harṣacarita* (ed. by A. A. Führer, Bombay, 1909, pp. 174-75), *Ucchvāsa*, IV—

“यः परकीयेनापि कातरवक्षभेन रणमुखे दृष्टेनेव धृतेनालज्जत जीवितेन ।”

(Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 101)—

‘Even an enemy’s life, that coward’s darling, when kept like a straw in the mouth of battle, filled him with shame.’

The commentator Śaṅkara explains:—

“कातरिति दृष्टं कातरैर्मुखे ध्रियते । दृष्टेनेति सद्योपमा मुखे दृष्टधाराणमनौचित्यमेव पोषयति” ।

² Vide page 239 of *Sanskrit Drama* by A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1924. Kṣemiśvara, the author of the *Caṇḍakaṣṣika*, wrote for Mahipāla, who according to Keith was the patron of Rājasekhara (c. A.D. 914).

³ Brewer in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (London, 1912, p. 546) possibly refers to this custom in the following remarks:—

‘To give grass. To confess yourself vanquished.’ No usage of this proverb is recorded by Brewer.

Calcutta Edition of 1884. When Hariśchandra wishes to sell himself as a slave the stage direction is “शिरसि ह्यं हत्वा”.

The reference to the custom of taking grass in mouth as a sign of submission in the *Harṣacarita* pointed out by Tawney is very important as it takes the antiquity of this custom from A.D. 1305 (Merutuṅga's time) to the time of poet Bāṇa (c. A.D. 630), the author of the *Harṣacarita*. We also note with interest the traces of this custom in Europe as pointed out by Liebrecht.

Col. G. A. Jacob in his *Laukika-nyāyāñjali* (Handful of Popular Maxims), Part III (N.S. Press, Bombay, 1911), refers to this custom on pages 58-59 under “ह्यमच्छान्याय”. He refers to the verse in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* pointed out by Tawney, viz.

“वैरिणोऽपि विमुच्यन्ते प्राणान्ते ह्यमच्छान्यात् ।

ह्यमच्छान्याः सदैवेते ह्यन्ते पशवः कथम् ॥”

as also the quotation from Acworth's *Marāṭhā Ballads* referring to the custom as “घावे तोंडांत ह्य” and further observes:—

Merutuṅga refers to this custom again on p. 300:—

“नाथो नः परमर्द्धनेन वदनन्यस्तेन संरक्षितः ।

पृथ्वीराजनराधिपादिति ह्यं तत्पत्तने पूज्यते ॥”

(Trans.)—‘Grass is now worshipped in Paramardin's city, because, when taken in the mouth, it preserved our lord Paramardin from Prṭhvīrāja, the king of men’ (Tawney's Translation, p. 189).

The late Col. Meadows Taylor, who was so thoroughly acquainted with Indian life, put the following into the mouth of one of his characters in *Seeta* (Chapter XLVII):—

‘We have a good many prisoners, for I could not kill the wretches who had put grass in their mouths and were crying for quarter.’

Cobham Brewer in his *Reader's Handbook* (London, 1911, p. 444) makes the following remarks about the English phrase ‘To give grass’:—

‘Grass (To give), to acknowledge yourself vanquished. A Latin phrase, *Herbam dare aut porrigere*—Pliny: *Nat. Hist.*, xxii, 4.’

If the phrase ‘*Herbam dare*’ was current in the time of Pliny (A.D. 23-79) we can easily presume its existence in Latin many years before the Christian era.

While this paper was being drafted I had a discussion about its subject with my friend Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, the Editor of the

Bhāratīya Vidyā, Bombay. Subsequently on 14-7-1947 he wrote to me as follows:—

‘I see one reference in Bhāsa’s *Dūtavākya*, though Woolner and Sarup and Gaṇapati Śāstri’s Commentaries interpret the passage differently. The reference is to *two passages* in the *Dūtavākya* which occur immediately after stanza 35 :—

1. “ वयं किञ्च दृष्टान्तराभिभाषकाः । ”
2. “ दृष्टान्तराभिभाषो भवान् । ”

Woolner and Sarup translate:—

1. Are we talking of grass?
2. Grass is the stuff for you.

(Pages 10-11, *Thirteen Trivandrum Plays*, Vol. II.)

Gaṇapati Śāstri’s Commentary:—

“ दृष्टेन चान्तरं व्यवधानं येषां अभिभाष्येण सद्य ते दृष्टान्तराः, दृष्टान्तराः सन्तोऽभिभाषकाः दृष्टान्तराभिभाषकाः । दृष्टमन्तरतः कलैव त्वमस्माकमभिभाष्यो न साक्षादित्यर्थः । ”

I translate as follows:—

1. We have come to speak about things other than grass.
2. You are fit to be spoken to (after) making you keep grass in your mouth.

As we have taken the antiquity of the custom of holding grass in mouth as a sign of surrender up to about A.D. 600 on the strength of Sanskrit sources it is possible to accept Dr. Pusalkar’s interpretation of the above references.

PLANTS IN EROTICS

By G. P. MAJUMDAR

The Science of Erotics constitutes the peculiar glory of India, the most fundamental characteristics of its civilization. It does not admit of any easy definition in Western languages, at any rate a definition intelligible to people who think in terms of modern specialistic culture. Nothing could be more hopelessly wrong than to associate it with merely love affairs as many people are apt to do. We hear a good deal about erotic poetry, erotic literature, i.e. literature dealing with love, poetry which has for its central theme love in its sensual and vulgar sense of the word.

Erotics in India means the science of human creation with its antecedents and consequents. It has for its object the enunciation, elucidation and enforcement of the laws governing the antecedents to that necessary act, the creation of the species, the control of the foetus throughout all the stages of its growth and development within the womb together with other essential preliminaries. Caraka¹ says:

‘A man who has his self under control should seek progeny, since piety and wealth, enjoyment and fame, depend upon it. And a man, when he is free from disease should procure a son according to sastric rites.’

‘As a branchless tree that is without shadow and without fruit and that emits a disagreeable scent, even so is a man who is lone and childless.’ 16.

‘A man who has no offspring should be regarded as one having no position, as one who is nude, as one who is empty, as one who has only one sense, and as one who has no necessity for work.’ 18.

‘A man with many children is like one who has many forms, or one having many faces, or one having bodies, or one of great activity; or one having many eyes, or one having varied experience, or having many souls.’ 19.

‘Joy, strength, happiness, livelihood, expansion, wealth, continuation of lineage, fame, future worlds of bliss, happiness hereafter, gratification: all depend on progeny.’ 21.

‘Men shall not live by the bread alone,’ says Christ, ‘but by every word that falls out of the lips of the Lord’, i.e. man cannot

¹ The Caraka Samhitā, Cikitsāsthāna, ch. II; English transl., p. 1070.

and should not be merely a material creature but a spiritual being too—a mixture of flesh and blood with spirit in it. Similarly, the ancients of India laid down the dictum that every man and woman, no matter whatever he or she may be, must have to study the pursuit of religion, wealth, fulfilment of desires, and last, of salvation—*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. It is a fatal mistake to think of pursuit of any one of these without the rest. Salvation without the pursuit of wealth, without the fulfilment of desires is absolutely impossible, and hence the religions of India have faced the problems of life boldly and steadily.

The Science of Erotics is mainly concerned with the fulfilment of *kāma*, or the desires of the flesh. The regulation, the control, the proper guidance of the desires, and particularly the sexual desire with a view to the welfare of the country, the society and the family in which the man is born, constitute the scope of the Science. The control of birth is the main consideration, and religion and other things are considered secondary in this matter.

The birth of children when properly and deeply viewed are very vitally connected with and effectually governed by the following antecedent circumstances:—

(1) The physical, intellectual and moral qualifications of the man and wife; (2) the kind of relation existing between them; (3) the articles that constitute the objects of their consumption; (4) their bodily behaviour during the time preceding conjugal rites leading to birth and accompanying them; and (5) the food of the parents, especially that of the mother during and after pregnancy.

The Indian Science of Erotics has taken note of each one and all of these factors, and has carried on elaborate observations resulting in the prescription of proper ways and remedies, the kind of food to be taken, ingredients to be used and processes, bodily, mental and spiritual, to be followed by the parties concerned. All the authoritative treatises dealing with medicine, and even some philosophical works deal with this topic. We may go earlier still and we find in that earliest monument of Indian culture and civilization, the *Rgveda*, some slight references, and in that equally monumental work, the *Atharvaveda*, elaborate descriptions of prescriptions and remedies on this problem.

Among the remedies, medicines and food described, plants of various types occupy a prominent part. As we proceed with our theme we shall very summarily refer to some of the typical plants concerned.

As we have already said that before we at all tackle the problem of birth we must have to face the problem of the relation between the man and his wife. Courtship in the European sense of the

word has always been unknown in the Hindu society, but the cordial relationship existing between the pair has been always thought a tal necessity. This could be done in two ways:—

- (1) By allowing the parties, especially the female, a wide liberty of choice as represented by the custom of *svayamvara*, whose origin can be traced in the misty past, and which lasted till the other day, Saṁyuktā, the daughter of king Jaychandra of Kanauj, being the last Indian lady who had the luck of choice in matrimonial matter.
- (2) The second with which we are concerned is the process of bringing the wife absolutely under the control of the husband (after marriage) by magical, supernatural and natural means. This is called 'Vāṣīkaraṇa' and 'Vājīkaraṇa'.

The origin of this practice can be traced to the sacred texts of the R̥gveda¹ in the Indrāṇī Sūkta, 10th Mandala, where not indeed a husband but a rival wife uses a plant as a means of subduing her rival, illustrating thereby the utility of plants in erotic matters.

✓ 'I dig up the most potent medicinal creeper by which (a wife) destroys a rival wife, by which she secures to herself her husband.'

The Atharvaveda² contains a still more direct application of plants in erotic matters. There are quite a number of verses directly addressed to these:

'As the creeper Lībiya has completely embraced the tree, so do thou embrace me. . . . that thou mayest be one loving me, that thou mayest be one not going away from me.' 1.

'As the eagle flying forth beats down his wings upon the earth, so do I beat down thy mind . . . that thou mayest be one loving me, that thou mayest be one not going away from me.' 2.

'As the sun goeth at once about heaven and earth here so do I go about the mind that thou, etc. ' 3.

There is another hymn (VI. 9) addressed precisely for the same subject, but this time to win a woman's love: 'Want thou the body of me. . . . ' 1.

So although plants are not directly applied here for the purpose of subduing the will of a woman they are indirectly applied, namely, in conjunction with mantras.

¹ R̥gveda (Wilson ed.), X. 145. 1-6.

² Atharvaveda, VI. 8. Whitney ed., p. 287.

The Caraka Samhitā devotes a particular chapter¹ to the topic called Vājīkaraṇa. This chapter begins with the following statement of its aim and scope:

'The pursuit of virtue, wealth, pleasure and fame are within the scope of this science. This science is at the basis of procreation, the child is the sole means through which virtue, pleasure, wealth and fame can be obtained, that is, through the application of Vājīkaraṇa (Aphrodisiacs) alone a goodly issue is born. A worthy son performs deeds conducive to the welfare of man whereby the above-mentioned blessings are acquired.'

Thus the treatise after dwelling on the vital necessity and the supreme blessing of having a good son launches out into a denunciation of the childless unfortunates—'A childless man is well comparable to a tree which does not cast a shadow and which possesses only one branch, is fruitless and full of bad smell. A man without a son is like a light painted on a canvass, or a pond that is dried up, like pinchbeck which resembles gold but is not gold. One should look on such unfortunate fellow in the light of a man-like fellow made of straw. One should regard such a man as unfamed, one-eyed, nude, of no substance and idle. And one must regard a man with multiplicity of children as possessed of plurality of selves, innumerable faces, many phalanxes, infinite activity, many eyes, vast vision and many souls.

'They applaud a many issued person thus: he is the source of all good, bountiful, blessed, puissant, multifarious, pleasure, strength, happiness, instinct, extension, wealth, pedigree, fame, command over men and the consequence of future happiness and satisfaction—all these centre round the birth of a child, and hence the man who covets the blessing of fatherhood with its consequent virtues above mentioned as well as the pleasure of senses should have recourse to Vājīkaraṇa.'

Here are mentioned plants which may be used in a variety of ways as ointment, as food, as objects of decoration and so forth. Although the scientific knowledge of this subject is a rarity, its use is still prevalent among the people not yet enlightened by modern education, who in their own crude ways make use of plants and other charms in erotic affairs with occasional good results showing thereby that a scientific knowledge and practice of this would have immense value to the society and country.

After the good will between the husband and the wife (Vaśīkaraṇa) has been established the next object which should occupy our attention is Vājīkaraṇa, or the art or the science of prescription of

¹ *Loc. cit.*, Cikitsāsthāna, chap. II; Eng. trans., pp. 1071-1096.

food necessary to the production of good children. Proper kind of food must be taken so that it might yield the requisite potentiality to the propagation of children.

A particular chapter¹ of the Caraka Saṃhitā has been devoted to the purpose. Therein nice prescriptions of the kind of food and medicines to be used by the parents as a means of increasing their vigour, virility, fertility and capacity for production, in a word, perfect manhood and womanhood as an indispensable preliminary to parenthood, are given. There a delicate problem has been frankly and scientifically handled. Unlike modern civilization the ancient civilization looked to the truth of the things in all its minute particulars with all its greatness and meanness. The ancients held that if God has in His infinite grace bestowed upon man great vices along with great virtues, making him at once 'a mighty mixture of the great and the base', it is for him to control, subordinate and make useful those vices and defects and not to abuse them. One of the great vices, when properly checked and guided, proves the greatest prop of human civilization, and the act of procreation is due to that. The ancient Indians throughout the whole course of their culture and history, in the midst of their sublime speculations, noble poetic flight, dreamy and gloomy reflections, had always their eyes to that. They always knew that man is made the image of God, that he is a potential God in man, that he is first a man and then is raised to the rank of Godhood and Divinity. His is first the bread problem, next the birth problem, third the life problem and fourth and the last, the salvation problem.

The ancient Indians approached, faced and solved the birth problem in a manner which reflects infinite credit on their foresight, in a manner infinitely beyond the conception and comprehension of the moderns. The Science of Erotics is a splendid monument to this acumen. Its first concern is the preparation of the union between the parents, next the perfection of parenthood. Under the second head comes Vājīkaraṇa, a science exclusively devoting itself to the scientific prescription and regulation of food in the most comprehensive sense of the word as a necessary preliminary to parenthood.

The germ of this science may be traced to the earliest philosophical speculations of India, for, there are verses in some of the Upaniṣads to this effect (and we have a particular Upaniṣad, called the Garbhopaniṣad, devoted to this topic), but the full-fledged science is to be found in the masterly work of Caraka. He lays down that mincing matters will not do. If you like to be fathers and mothers you must be first of all good husbands and wives, pleasing and pleased with one another and each other, and you must

¹ *Ibid.*, Śārīrasthāna, chap. VIII.

not lose sight of the physical factor in the matter. Apart from the question of spiritual and mental union you must see that you are physically satisfied with each other, and to this effect Caraka as well as Vātsāyana lay down prescriptions.

The following plants are prescribed as ingredients of the medicine and food to be used for the purpose.¹

Śaramūla, ikṣu, khāgramūla, kulekhāḍā, śatamūli, ksira-kākolī, bhūmikūsmāṇḍa, kaṇṭakārī, jīvanti, jiraka, medā, śāla-parṇi, ṛṣabhaka, beḍelā, ṛddhi, gokṣura, rasnā, ālkuśī, punarnavā, yaśthimadhu, drākṣā, yajñadumura, pipul, madhūka, kharjura, āmalakī, dārucini, elācī, nāgakeśara, aśvagandhā, māṣa, baṁśalocana, godhūma, dāḍima, pāniphala, and many others.

The Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad also devotes a chapter² to the consideration of the all-important problem of childbirth. The means that it suggests for bringing about the birth of a good issue is more of a spiritual than of a physical nature. Unlike Caraka its author does not prescribe medicine pure and simple, but the consumption of the sacred *caru* (sweet rice) on a particularly auspicious day in a particular manner. The instruction runs:

'He who wish to reach greatness (should) perform the vow called Upasat (of living on milk for 12 days immediately before the day appointed for the sacrifice) in the period called Uttara-yana, when the sun moves towards the north, on an auspicious day of a bright fortnight, when the moon gradually increases, when a male asterism is in the ascendant, collecting all the wild and cultivated fruits and *oṣadhis* (herbs, medicinal and others) as prescribed by the Śāstras, in a vessel made of Udumbara, or in a spoon of bell-metal, and mixing them together, sprinkling the sacrificial place with water, spreading the kuśa grass, lighting the sacrificial fire, making an offering of the ghee that has been purified, and bringing the paste (mantha—ghṛtadadhimadhu-saṁmiśram sarvaṣaḍhiphalaviśiṣṭam—) of all the grains of the herbs with the following mantra:

'Oh, thou Jātavedāh, all those adverse gods that are in thee, who stand in the way of man's (obtaining his) objects of desire, to them do I offer this potion, may they thus pleased, satisfy me with all my desires, Svāhā. That adverse (goddess) who considers herself (as the cause of) obstacles, to that goddess, named Samradhani (the accomplisher of all desires), I worship thee with the stream of ghee, Svāhā.' 6. 3. 1.

¹ For a detailed information, see Caraka, Cikitsāsthāna, chap. II.

² *Loc. cit.*, chap. VI, Brāhmaṇas 3 and 4. S.B.H., vol. xiv, pp. 682, 694, 1916; also Lotus Library Ed. (Bengali translation).

Then the sacrificer should eat the mantha (in 4 morsels thus) uttering the mantra: '(May) the winds blow mildly; (may) the rivers flow gently; (may) the herbs (be) sweet to us; (may) the night as well as the dawns (be) pleasant; (may) the dust of the earth (be) sweet; (may) the atmosphere and the Fathers (be) sweet; (may) the tree (be) sweet to us; (may) the sun (be) sweet and (may) the cows (be) sweet to us. (He should say) May I be all this, and so forth.' 6. 3. 6.

Om madhuvātā r̥tāyate madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḥ mādhvīrṇaḥ santoṣadhī madhu naktamutoṣaso madhumatpārthivam rajaḥ madhudyaaurastu naḥ pitā madhumānno vanaspati madhumām astu sūryaḥ mādhvīrgāvo bhavantu naḥ. 6. 3. 6.

Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa (instructing this mantha-doctrine to) his disciple, Yājñavalkya, the follower of Vājasaneyā branch, said: Should one sprinkle it even on the dry trunk of a tree, branches would grow and leaves spring forth. 6. 3. 7.

In the 13th mantra (vi. 3. 13) direction is given as to the things to be made of the udumbara wood and the cultivated grains to be collected for the mantha thus: Four things are made of udumbara wood. Of udumbara is the sruva, of udumbara is the cup, of udumbara is the sacrificial fuel, and of udumbara are the two churning vessels. Ten are the chief cultivated (*grāmyāni*) grains, viz. rice, barley, sesamum seed, kidney beans (or) śyāmaka, panic seed, wheat, lentils, pulse and vetch. These, when ground, (the sacrificer) should moisten in curds, in honey and in ghee. Of ghee (he) should make the offering to the fire.

Then in the 4th Brāhmaṇa (VI. 4) are described the quality of sweet rice (*putramantha*), and the circumstances under which it is taken as responsible for the quality of issue born. Thus:

For the procreation of a son of pure white (*śuklah*) complexion, learned and long lived, the married couple should both take rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee. Those desiring a son of brown complexion, learned and long lived, should both take *caru* boiled in curd and mixed with ghee. In procreating a son of blue complexion, red eyed, learned and long lived, the couple should take rice boiled in water and mixed with ghee. Those desiring a son erudite, illustrious, popular in court, of retentive memory and sweet speech, well versed in the Vedas and long lived, should jointly take boiled rice mixed with meat and ghee. For having a girl learned and long lived the couple should eat sesame and rice boiled together and mixed with ghee. (VI. 4. 14-18.)¹

¹ For details, see Majumdar, Some Aspects of Indian Civilization (1938), chap. X (ii).

The Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hyasūtra (I. 19) prescribes the pounding of the *adhyāṇḍa* plant by the husband and its sprinkling into the right nostril of the wife when her monthly period is about to set in uttering the two verses: Speed away from here, a husband has she. If the woman does not conceive after this, Paraskara (I. 13. 1) prescribes that the husband should on the 4th day of the menstrual period apply the pounded root of a white blooming *simhi* plant to the right nostril of the woman with the mantra: This herb is protecting, overcoming and powerful. May the son of this (great) mother obtain the name of a father.

The Caraka Saṃhitā (Śārīrasthāna, Ch. VIII; cp. also Suśruta Sam., Śārīrasthāna, Ch. II) prescribes that if the parents desire a healthy son endowed with great strength and energy, of fair complexion, good moral character and of powerful mind, the mother should be given wholesome and pure food in the form of thick gruel of barley mixed with honey and ghee and milk, the last obtained from a white cow with a white calf, in silver or white brass vessels every morning and evening. She should also be provided with a spacious room and comfortable bed for the purpose of sleeping at night, as also decent and clean robes and ornaments to put on. Every morning and evening she should be allowed frequently to have a look at a large bodied white bull of excellent breed.

A wife desiring a son of neutral complexion, with red eyes, wide chest and long arms should follow a prescribed process of sacrifice. And if she desires a son of dark complexion with dark hair, white eyes and white teeth, possessing great energy and strong mind, should also follow the same process of sacrifice, but the environment in these cases should be of a colour in accordance with the colour of the son desired. I-10.

All these prescriptions, it will be seen, are really meant for the purpose of creating a necessary psychological condition of maternity, and providing nourishment for the parents, particularly for the mother as soon as puberty sets in.

As an illustration of the application of the mantha-doctrine for the procreation of a desirable child the story about the birth of Paraśurāma, the warrior Brahmin, as narrated in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa¹ may be given here: Ricika, one of the descendants of Bhṛṅgu, married Satyavatī, the daughter of Gādhi, a king in the lineage of Purūravas. In order to have a son Ricika prepared a dish of rice, barley and pulse with butter and milk for his wife to eat. And being requested by her he made a similar mixture for her mother by partaking which she should give birth to a martial prince; keeping both the dishes with his wife and giving her instructions as to which dish was intended for her and which for her mother the sage went

¹ *Loc. cit.*, part iv, sec. vii. Eng. transl., M. N. Dutta, Vol. I, i, p. 182.

to the forest. At the time of taking the food her mother said to Satyavati, 'Daughter, every one wants to have a son gifted with great qualities, and nobody wishes to be excelled by the qualities of his mother's brother. It is, therefore, desirable for you to give me the food which your husband has set apart for you, and to partake of that intended for me, for my son shall be sovereign of the world. What is the use of wealth, strength and prowess for a Brahmin?' Being thus addressed Satyavati gave her own food to her mother.

When the sage returned from the forest and saw Satyavati, he said to her, 'Sinful woman, what hast thou done? Your body appears as very fearful to me, surely thou hast taken the food intended for the mother. Thou hast committed a wrong. That food I consecrated with the properties of power, strength and heroism, whereas your food was consecrated with the qualities of a Brahmana-gentleness, knowledge and resignation. As you have exchanged messes, your son shall follow a warrior's propensities and use weapons and fight and slay. Your mother's son shall be born with the desires of a Brahmin, and shall be devoted to peace and piety.'

Barua¹ writes in his History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy that the 'Mantha-doctrine in the Brihad Āraṇyaka is the Canonical basis of the rules regarding the practical amplification of the principles of Eugenics, and it is not improbable that Erotic Science (Kāmasūtra) developed on the lines of Uddālaka's Mantha-doctrine Svetaketu was the originator of Erotic Science' (in India).

*Kāmasūtra of Vātsāyana.*²

This is a scientific treatise on erotics, the only early treatise in the world on the subject, which gives us a thoroughly accurate and wonderfully effective solutions of the problem of procreation. The spirit and the method in which the author attacks the problem is so astonishingly modern that the statement of its aim might be translated *verbatim* from the texts.

'The stability and prosperity of the world depend upon the multiplication of the species; and the multiplication of the species, both in the vegetable and animal world, cannot take place without union between the male and the female.' Hence the all-important problem of their union has to be very seriously considered and the Kāmasūtra thus considered it in the following way. Chapter I of Book VII of the treatise, named Aupaniṣadhikam, i.e. secret means to gain one's end, is divided into three sub-divisions, namely, Śubhagam-karaṇam, Vaśīkaraṇam and Vṛṣayoga, i.e. ways of securing the loveliness of the body, winning over the opposite party, and increasing one's virility.

¹ Loc. cit., p. 127.

² Mahesh Pal edition, 1313 B.S.

Subhagamkaraṇam is the practice whereby one can be fortunate in point of beauty, quality, duration of life and self-sacrifice. The blessing of beauty is very necessary in life. If a boy or girl be born ugly the misfortune of parents knows no bounds, but if they can be made beautiful through the help of the practice known as the Tagaradi Yoga, they are sure to be welcome to those who see them.

For this purpose Vātsāyana prescribes the smearing of the body with the powders of the leaves of Tagara, Kuṣṭha, and Tāliśapatra; anointing one's eyes with this powder mixed with the oil of Bibhītaka made into a collyrium, and the wearing of a wreath of flowers powdered with the dust of Punarnavā, Sahadevī, Sarivā, Utpalapatra, Kuraṇṭa and yellow or white Amaranth. All these when used will contribute to one's loveliness of the body (4-7). When half a tola of the powder made of the flowers of red and blue lotuses and Nāgakeśara is mixed with honey and ghee and taken daily, one's beauty and loveliness is sure to be enhanced. When a paste, made of the above three flowers with Tagara, Tāliśa and Tamāla, is rubbed over one's body, the beauty and loveliness of the same is enhanced. When an ornament made of the beads of Badara is worn it will contribute to one's lovely appearance (8-11).

In this connection we might note that the Agñipurāṇa¹ prescribes the following eight processes of making the body free of bad smell and thus pleasing to the wife or *vice versa*: by cleansing or washing, by gargling, by vomiting, by decorating the body with flowers and garlands, by heating and burning incense-sticks, by fumigation, and by using scents and perfumes. For fumigation the following plants and plant products are recommended: Nakha, kuṣṭha, dhana, māṁsī, śrka, śaileyaja, saffron, shellac, sandal, agallochum, nīrada, sarala, devakāṣṭha, camphor, kāntā, vaṭa, kunduru, scented gum resin, and śrīnīvāsa; scented oils for bath by treating the oil with equal measures of tvaca, saffron, murā, analada, and vālaka, etc. In this way recipes for lotus scented, jāti flower scented and various other scented oils are given (19-32). Even prescriptions for the cure of halitosis (foul breath) are given (33-40). The processes recommended here are still popular practices all over India. The modern artifices of making that beautiful which is not beautiful seem to be anticipated by centuries here.

Vaśikaraṇa Yoga, or the art of winning over wives by husbands or rather of bringing about a cordial, perfectly harmonious relation between the two constitutes the most important section of the book. The author has fully realized the importance of cordial co-operation and absolutely peaceful relation between the pair as of vital importance to the problem of the birth of children, it being calculated to prevent the possibility of hybrids (*varṇasaṅkara*) and the

¹ Eng. transl., M. N. Dutta, Calcutta, 1904.

preservation of the purity of pedigree intact. All the authorities, Kātyāyana, Yājñavalkya, Manu and others, have prescribed useful drugs for the purpose, and Vātsāyana's treatise practically embodies the results of all previous thinkers' instructions. Among the drugs mentioned are the following plants:

Datura, *marīca*, *pippalī*, *vajrā*, *snuhi*, *gaṇḍaka*, *vacā*, mango, *śimśapā*, *khadira*, *priyaṅgu*, *tagara*, *nāgakeśara*, and others.

Vṛṣya Yoga, or the ways of securing the virility and strength of body by drugs and other means. The most glaring evil of the modern civilization is that it does not provide or enforce any rule or rules governing the sensual enjoyment with the result that it is confronted with the evils of immature growth, premature death, nervous debility and host of other diseases which the utmost effort of the medical science with all its perfections cannot prevent. The ancient Indians sought to strike at the root of the tree of evil, and sought successfully by means of prescribing remedies, regulations and processes. First and foremost of all is the question of physical strength in the pair without which mere cordiality was of no avail, and we find drugs, and among them the following plants mentioned as agencies, conducive to strength and virility:—

The root of *ucchaṭā*, *cavya*, *yaṣṭimadhu*, liquorice, *vidāri*, *kṣīrika*, *svayaṃguptā*, *piyāla*, *kṣīramoraṭa*, *śrīṅgāṭaka*, *kaṣeru*, *madhūlikā*, *kṣīrakākolī*, *aśvagandhā*, *māṣa*, *sesamum*, *śatamūlī*, *gokṣuravīja*, pepper, wheat, *śrīparṇī*, *śrīṅgāraka*, *madhurasā*, *sanseviera*, *śatāvarī*, *svadamṣṭrā*, etc. etc.

The *Bṛhatsamhitā*¹ also devotes two chapters to these topics—Chapter 75² prescribes recipes for increasing one's vigour and energy. Only two recipes are quoted here:

Tilāśvagandhākapikacchamūlairvidārikaṣaṣṭika piṣṭayoga |
Ājenapiṣṭah payasā ghr̥tena, pakkam bhavecchaskulikātivṛṣyā || 9
Kṣīreṇa vā gokṣura kopayogam, vidārikākandakabhakṣaṇam vā |
Rkuvanna sīdedyadī jīryatehsya, mandāgninā cedidamatra cūrṇam || 10

Chapter 76³ deals with various toilet preparations.⁴

Thus the Science of Erotics has for its scope the whole problem of birth. It is not simply a love affair in the dictionary sense of the word. It is at once scientific and religious. It takes into account

¹ *Loc. cit.*, Vizianagram Sans. Series X, 1895-97.

² *Loc. cit.*, *Kandarpikam*, 9, 10, pp. 936-941.

³ *Ibid.*, *Gandhayukti*, pp. 941-960.

⁴ For further and detailed information, see Majumdar, *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*, 1938, chap. IV, pp. 83-106, Calcutta.

man, his external environment, his internal propensities, and last of all, it faces the question of his responsibility in the world as a moral being. For the successful solution of its problems it has recourse to many agencies, and plants play a very prominent part among those agencies.

'Its primary object,' says Barua,¹ 'as set forth in the closing chapter of the Brihad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, is to teach a way of life which is essential to the preservation and betterment of the race, and as such the system forms an integral part of the Brahmanic Ethics None should fight shy of claiming ancient Indian treatises of Erotic Science as a rich heritage.'

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¹ Barua, A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 341. Calcutta, 1921.

THE THIRD CAVE-INSRIPTION: BARĀBAR HILL

By SAILENDRANATH MITRA

THE PURPOSE OF THE GIFT OF THE CAVE

Hultzsch in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 182, reads the text of this cave-inscription as follows:—

- 1 lāja Piyadasī ekunavī-
- 2 sati-vasā[bh]isi[t]e ja[lagh]o-
- 3 [sāgama]thāta [me] i[yaṃ] kubhā]
- 4 su[p]i[y]e Kha.....[di]-
- 5 nā

The purpose of the gift of the cave (in lines 2 and 3), with which I am mainly concerned in this paper, is peculiarly worded—*jalagho-sāgamathāta*. Drawing attention to the expression *vāshanishidiyāye* ('for a dwelling during the rainy season') occurring in the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA. 20. 364 f., and EI. 2. 274), Hultzsch translates his reading thus: 'for the sake of the approach of the roar of waters'. He construes the relevant text as *jala-ghosa-āgama-athāta*, doubtfully equating *athāta* with Skt. *arthataḥ* in the sense of *arthāya* (*Ibid.*, p. 182, fn. 4). That the shelter offered through the gift of the cave was to provide not so much against the 'roar of waters' (*jala-ghosa*) as against the 'flood of water' (*jala-ogha*), may be easily presumed. Verily, flood and famine were then, as now, the most dreaded calamities in India, the former being more regular and sudden, especially during the rainy season. Cf. *Dhammapada*: 'Suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahogho va maccu ādāya gacchati'. *Ogha* would seem to be more appropriate than *ghosa* in the context of this inscription. That it is so will be shown anon.—As regards *athāta*, it cannot be a counterpart of Skt. *arthataḥ* in Asokan eastern Māgadhī, which would only permit of a form in *-te*, as *athate* (cf. *hetute*, *viyaṃjanate*, Jaugaḍa Rock Edict III; also *Ujenite*, Dhauri Sep. R.E. I.; *Suvamṇagiriṭe*, Brahmagiri and Siddapura Rock Inscriptions). Nor can it be a counterpart of Skt. *arthāya*, for which the proper form would be *athāye* (as in Jaugaḍa Sep. R.E. II; Tōpra VIII), in preference perhaps to *athā* (Girnar R.E. XII) or *athāya* (Girnar R.E. III, IV, V, VI and XIII).—The difficulty is further enhanced by the suggested reading *me* ('by me') after *thāta*, which leaves the donor of the cave unnamed, there being no perceptible trace left in the mutilated por-



THE THIRD CAVE-INSCRIPTION : BARABAR HILL.
(Reproduced from Hultzsch, 'Inscriptions of Asoka,' page 182.)

tion of the inscription towards the end for the assumption of any such name, and especially because *me*, which is in the instrumental case, cannot be construed to mean *lāja Piyadasī ekunavīsati-vasābhisite*, a construction which is undoubtedly nominative absolute.—Then, again, the reading *supiye* (in line 4) as an adjective to *Kha* (*latika-pavatasī*), masculine, locative singular, is open to question, as it ends in *-e* and not *-asi*, which in the eastern dialect is the usual locative termination for the masculine or neuter gender in the *-a* declension.

Considering the mutilated appearance of some of the letters, there was, I believe, ground enough for Hultzscht to offer a tentative reading. But as it has still remained vague and obscure, it will, I daresay, be worthwhile to try to reconstruct and improve the reading in a sensible way and with as little changes as possible.

To come to the facsimile. In line 2 the last three letters, as Hultzscht reads them, are *ja[lagh]o-*. The *ja* is quite clear, but the second letter has a short vertical stroke below the left of the curve and a much shorter one below the right, which would make it read *lu* or *lū*. For the stroke hanging on the left, see the letter *lu* in *nīludhasī* (Hultzscht, Pillar Edict IV, Lauriya Ararāj). The two pendant strokes may allow the reading *lū*. The last letter of the line is almost effaced in the vertical and it cannot be read as *gho* except only as *gha* or, at the most, as *ghā*. The trace that looks like a hyphen to the right on the margin is but a scratch and nothing else, for no other letter in this inscription encroaches on the margin. Thus, the three letters would read *ja lū ghā*.

In line 3, the first letter is so mutilated that it hardly permits of a reading *sā*, neither the loop nor the tail being visible. Depending on either of the two rough horizontal strokes running to the right of a vertical, I would read the figure as *ū*. But as initial *ū* is not traceable in the inscriptions of Asoka, I should only read it as *u*. The next four letters *ga ma thā ta* will remain as Hultzscht has read them. The next letter which he reads as *me* can be read as *ve*, discarding the slight scratch which has been taken to serve as the right horn of *m*, and taking into account the vertical stroke (regarded by Hultzscht as the left horn of *m*) which is crossed and encroached upon by a slanting scratch. The *-e* stroke, however, is not doubted.

In the light of this revision, I propose to replace Hultzscht's *jālaghosāgamathāta me* by the reading *jālūghā ugāma thātave* with the literal meaning: 'to stay, going up (i.e., rising) above the flood of water'—in other words, 'to dwell aloft beyond the reach of flood (during the rainy season)'.

The forms of the words are now to be explained. *Jālūghā* is *jala+ogha+ablative singular* (Skt. *jalaughāt*), 'from the flood of water'. Cf. *jalaugha-vego* ('the rush of the torrent of water'), Rāmāyaṇa, canto 63, v. 18; also *udakogha* ('water flood'), Commentary

on *Vimānavatthu*, 48. For *au* = *ū*, cf. Skt. *jālukā* = *jālūkā*; Skt. *raudra* = Pali *ludda* (with shortening of the vowel before the double consonant). *Ugama* (Skt. *ud* + $\sqrt{\text{gam}}$ + *ya*) corresponds to Pali *uggamma*, 'going up', 'rising aloft'; cf. also Pali *accuggamma* (*ati* + *uggamma*), 'rising out (of)'. *Thātave* (Skt. *sthātum*, from $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$) is an instance of infinitive in *-tave*, and corresponds to Pali *thātave*, *thātave*, 'to stay, to remain'.

The reconstructed expression *jālūghā ugama thātave* has a close parallel in Pali in almost identical terms. The following quotation is remarkable: 'Appekaccāni uppalāni.....udakā accuggamma thanti' (*Dīghanikāya*, II, p. 38), which is explained as 'udakam atikkamitvā tittthanti' in *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*, p. 92 (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3), 'there are some lotuses which rise and remain out of the water'. See also *Āṅguttara*, V. 152. For *ugama thātave*, cf. *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 4, v. 17: '(Thero) uggamma.....thito', 'rising aloft....(the elder) remained'. Thus, the reading adopted is not only supported by evidence from literature, but it also does away with the difficulty of construction arising from the reading *me*, which has been replaced by *ve*, which, again, is joined to *thāta* to form the term *thātave*.

Now about *supiye* in line 4. As adjective to *Khalatika-pavatasi* (as restored by Hultzsck), the word, with the locative form in *-e*, is, as pointed out above, hardly in order. If it be suggested that it had better be taken as an adjective of *kubhā* (restored by Hultzsck on the analogy of the reading in the first two cave-inscriptions in the same hill), then the proper form of the term should have been *supiyā* (feminine, nominative), so as to read *kubhā supiyā* (meaning *Supiya-kubhā*, on the analogy of *Nigoha-kubhā* of the first cave-inscription in the same hill). But Hultzsck reads it *supiye*, and renders the whole expression: 'in the very pleasant Khalatika mountain'. Now, the word *khalatika* (Skt. *skhalatika*) by its very derivation points to some imperfection associated with the hill, which, as the name signifies, must have been shorn of shrubbery or green vegetation, so as not to justify the description *supiya*. We are reminded of the ugliness of *Khalatiya Peta* in the *Petavatthu-Atthakathā*, p. 46, where we read of a beautiful woman who was envied by her female friend, who managed to apply some depilatory preparations to her hair while she was taking her bath in a river, with the result that all her hair fell off (*khalitā*). She is described as 'vilūna-kesā' and 'luñcitapamattā kapotī viya virūpā'. And, again, 'sisam tassā tintakalābu sadisam ahosi'. In the same way, the *Khalatika-pavata* may be regarded as originally bald and devoid of grace and, therefore, hardly 'very pleasant' (*supiya*). We do not know if it had changed its ugliness in Asoka's time. Presumably, there must be something wrong in the reading *supiye*. The late Dr. B. M. Barua rejected it and was inclined

to restore the words in line 4 as *pavate Khalatikasi* on the analogy of *bahune janasi* of Pillar Edict VII. But *bahune* belongs to the *u*-declension and *pavate* to the *a*-, and the locative singular form (as required in the eastern dialect) would be *pavatasi*. So, the analogy of *pavate* with *bahune* does not hold good. I was almost tempted to read the word as *tatiye*, but not without doubts. For want of a plausible reading at present, the whole question should remain open until a reasonable suggestion is forthcoming.

Lastly, a word about Hultzsch's restoration *Khalatika-pavatasi*. From the facsimile it is evident that there is not room enough for seven letters after *Kha* in line 4 to justify his restoration. The space between *Kha* and the last letter of the line (which is read by Hultzsch as *di*) may suffice for four letters, or five at the most. Therefore, the reading *Khalatika pavatasi* is out of place here, though a shorter reading *Khalatikasi* would not be so.

EARLY BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO BRAHMANICAL PHILOSOPHY

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

To the memory of one who was by his frame of mind and inclinations more a philosopher than anything else, a very befitting tribute will perhaps be a contribution to some aspect of philosophy, and I can do no better than selecting for the purpose a subject enquiring into what early Bengal did in the domain of various Brahmanical systems of philosophy.

Bengal in mediæval times became pre-eminently known as a seat of *Navya-Nyāya* culture, and it was the University of Navadvīpa, where flocked students of this system from all quarters of India for study and degree, that mainly elevated it to that level of distinction. In the early period, which closed with the twelfth century, however, no such university existed in Bengal to diffuse Brahmanical learning and culture, for Somapurī and Jagaddala, Bha-ra-ha and Vikramapurī and the rest known as universities in early Bengal were all Buddhist in denomination and spirit, and even the temples of Bengal, as of other parts of Northern India, did not serve as academic institutions like so many temples of Southern India. Students of Brahmanical learning and culture, therefore, used to work in their individual capacities in their village or town homes or *ṭolas*, and notwithstanding the difficulties of segregated lives in the matter of inspiration for literary enterprises they succeeded to contribute much to all branches of learning—*Kāvya* and *Alaṅkāra*, *Darśana* and *Smṛti*, *Āyurveda* and *Jyotiṣa*, and so on. In respect of *Darśana*, the evidences show that Vedānta, Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika were the systems that they cultivated most.

VEDĀNTA.

It has been argued that the *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā* is an anonymous handbook of the schoolmen of Gauḍa, and that the name known to us as Gauḍapāda is but a figment derived from the title of the book, *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā*, 'Summary verses consisting in *Pādas* of the Gauḍa school'.¹ That the book is anonymous is too patent, but that a book, as such, had no particular author is without any justification to maintain. All that is indicated by the word *Gauḍapāda* is that he, the author, was a Gauḍa, and the term *pāda*,

¹ Walliser, *Ältere Vedānta*, pp. 5ff.; cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1362.

properly an honorific ending, is applied to it with as much consequence as that contained in its application in the names like *Lūpāda*, *Dārika-pāda*, *Tailika-pāda*, *Nāḍa-pāda*, etc., or in the epithets like *Avadhūta-pāda*, *Pūjya-pāda*, *Prabhu-pāda*, etc. *Pāda* would thus mean 'of adorable feet', and when *Gauḍapāda* is styled as *Gauḍācārya*, as done by *Sureśvarācārya* in his *Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārtika*¹ or by *Vidyāranya* *Sarasvatī* in his *Jīvanmuktiviveka*² and *Pañcadaśī*,³ it proves, on the one hand, that the term *pāda*, which being, from the standpoint of an honorific title, equivalent to *ācārya*, had nothing to do with the subdivisions (*pādas*; of the work, and, on the other, that he was a native of *Gauḍa*. Indeed we have got like instances of this practice in the names of *Koṅkaṇapāda*,⁴ *Varendrapāda*,⁵ *Keralipāda*,⁶ etc. In case of *Koṅkaṇapāda* we do know that his personal name was *Kokadatta*; but in case of others, including *Gauḍapāda*, the real names remain screened by artificial ones, which are not exactly pseudonyms assumed by themselves, but instances of familiarizations which great respect to them brought into being.

To the so-called *Gauḍapāda* goes the credit of reviving the a-dualistic ideas of the *Upaniṣads*, of comparing presumably for the first time the world-appearance with the dream-appearance, and of preparing the groundwork upon which *Śaṅkarācārya* enabled himself to erect later on the stately mansion of his *Advaitavāda*. Of his personal history we know practically nothing except that, in tradition, he was a pupil of one *Śuka*. The tradition is recorded not only in *Vidyāranya's Śaṅkara-digvijaya* (5. 94ff.) but in other works also,⁷ and has the fortune of having even *Winternitz* to lend the weight of his name to credit it as *sobre*.⁸ But in any case, whether the tradition tells us a truth or not, the discipleship of *Śuka*, unknown to literature or history, does not help to add lustre to the fame of *Gauḍapāda*.

The *Gauḍapādīya-kārikā*, or better *Māṇḍukya-kārikā*, the earliest systematic exposition of the monistic *Vedānta*, derives the name of *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* owing to its explaining in the first chapter, called *Āgama*, the text of the *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad*. Of the remaining

¹ Cf. I. 4. 389 (p. 510), 2. 1. 386 (p. 951) and 4. 4. 886 (p. 1866); also see *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, pp. 192-3.

² Tr. by M. M. Divedi, Bombay, 1897, Ch. II, p. 52.

³ Tr. by *Sri Gopāla Kṛṣṇa*, Bombay, 1912, p. 27; also the *Pañḍit*, N.S., Vol. V, p. 669.

⁴ *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de La Bibliothèque Nationale*, par *Cordier*, II, p. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁷ Cf. *Cat. of South Indian MSS.*, by M. *Winternitz*, London, 1902, p. 21 and pp. 288-90.

⁸ *Geschichte der ind. Litteratur*, III, p. 430, fn. 3.

three chapters of the work, the second, called *Vaitathya*, explains the world illusion, and the third and fourth, called respectively *Advaita* and *Alātaśānti*, establish and develop his *Advaita* theory.

To Gauḍapāda is also ascribed the authorship of the *Uttara-Gītā-vyākhyā*,¹ which is a commentary on the *Uttara-Gītā*, the *Uttaratāpanīya-vivaraṇa*,² a commentary on the *Uttaratāpanīya* (but this is doubtful); and a commentary on the *Vṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,³ as also the *Śrī-Vidyāratna Sūtras*, which has a commentary by Vidyāraṇya Muni,⁴ said to be a pupil of Śaṅkarācārya. Gauḍapāda, as Dr. Walliser points out, is quoted in the *Tarkajvālā*, a logical treatise, which exists in Tibetan translation, of Bhāva-viveka.⁵ According to the testimony of Hiuen Tsang the *Śāstra*-master P'o-p'i-fei-ka or Bhāva-viveka, a resident of Dhana-kataka, was but a junior contemporary of Dharmapāla of Nālandā,⁶ whose approximate date is, as is commonly known, 600-635 A.D. Bhāva-viveka, therefore, was not certainly much earlier than Hiuen Tsang, as is sometimes supposed⁷; but what we should say is that he was not anterior to the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., and this renders the lower limit of Gauḍapāda's date corresponding to the date of Dharmapāla. A commentary resembling that of Gauḍapāda, on the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa, was translated into Chinese as early as in the reign of the Ch'en dynasty (557-580 A.D.), but the commentary, however, does not bear the name of Gauḍapāda.⁸ On the other hand, Śaṅkarācārya at the end of his commentary on the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* pays obeisance many times to the feet of his *parama-guru*,⁹ who was Gauḍapāda. The term *parama*, by itself, may also mean *great*, but when it forms a compound with *guru*, it means *grand*, and I know of no instance where a Sanskritist employs the expression *parama-guru* in the

¹ *Contributions towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, Fitzedward Hall, 1859, p. 123; and *Mitra's Notices*, I, p. 101.

² *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, H. P. Śāstri, II, No. 1806, pp. 1415-16.

³ R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 8.

⁴ This is a work on the *Tripura Āgama*, the *Sūtras* being 101 in number. Ed. Nārāyaṇa Śāstri Khiste, with the *Com. of Śaṅkarārya*. The Prince of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. II, Benares, 1924. Another *Tāntric* work assigned to Gauḍapāda is the *Subhagodaya*, a hymn in praise of Subhagā, a manifestation of Śakti—*Catalogues of Sans. MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, Vol. XIX, 1915, No. 10849, pp. 7390-91.

⁵ Walliser, *op. cit.*, pp. 14ff.

⁶ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 222; Beal, *Records*, II, p. 223.

⁷ *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Charles Eliot, II, p. 74, fn. 1; also *Indian Philosophy*, S. Radhakrishnan, II, p. 452, fn. 2. When Candrakīrti quotes Bhāva-viveka in his *Mādhyamaka-ṛtti*, he quotes almost his contemporary.

⁸ *India: What can it teach us?* Max Müller, London, 1883, p. 360, fn. 5; also *J. Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, XVIII, 1890-94, p. 236.

⁹ *Yas taṁ pūjyābhīpūjyaṁ parama-gurum amuṁ pāda-pātair nato'smi*, Ānandāśram ed., p. 214.

sense of *great teacher* instead of *grand teacher*. Of the host of theories that have ever been propounded for the date of Śaṅkara, it suffices here to say that importance attaches to two only, viz. those that make him born in 788 A.D. and 686 A.D.¹ respectively. The former, which has the reading of an old MS. to support it and has gained far more credence, cannot, however, answer, amongst many other things, to the relation in which Śaṅkara stood with his spiritual grandfather (*parama-guru*), Gauḍapāda. But the relation must be accepted as historical truth, or we shall have to pretend that we know of Śaṅkara much more than he himself knew of him. The latter date, in its specification of a particular year, viz. 686 A.D., is on artificial calculation, partly satisfying the requirements of some historical facts and partly astronomical, but without having the sanction of any manuscriptal evidence. We may not accept this date, but a date near about this one seems to suit very well the chronology of Śaṅkara, and this reduces us to the necessity of supposing that the lower limit of Gauḍapāda's date is also his actual date.

The next known champion of Bengal of the Vedānta system is Abhinanda, the Gauḍa, son of Jayanta. He wrote in this direction,

- (1) the *Yogavāśiṣṭha-sāra*,² an abridgement, embracing 6,000 Anuṣṭup couplets, of the *Yogavāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*, which is reckoned amongst Vedānta treatises;
- (2) the *Laghuvāśiṣṭha-sāra*³;
- (3) the *Mokṣopāya-sāra*,⁴ a philosophical poem extracted from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*;
- (4) the *Vālmīki-vairāgya-prakaraṇam*⁵; and
- (5) the *Vāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa*⁶ (if it be a separate work from the first one).

Of these, the first has a commentary by Ātmasukha, pupil of Hariharācārya.⁷

Śrīharṣa, the poet of the *Naiṣadhīya* and doubtless a Bengal-born, made his mark in the domain of philosophy by his *Khaṇḍa-nākhaṇḍa-khāḍya*, the most reputed work on Vedāntic dialectics, in which he vigorously criticizes, in four chapters, the principal philo-

¹ *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1315, pp. 159-165; *Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja*, Rajendra Nath Ghosh. I intend to discuss the date in details subsequently.

² Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

³ *Cat. of Sans. and Prakṛta MSS. in C.P. and Berar*, Hiralal, Nagpur, No. 4925, p. 438.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, X, 1881, p. 46.

⁵ *Lists of MSS. collected for Govt. MSS. Library*, by the Professors of Sanskrit at the Deccan and Elphinstone Colleges, Poona, 1925, p. 66.

⁶ *Cat. Deccan College MSS.*, S. R. Bhandarkar, 1888, p. 202.

⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 122; S. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

sophical systems of India, and the Nyāya in particular, postulating that nothing in the world is definable, since there is no knowing whether a thing is or is not, and that the essential principles and primary definitions set forth by the various systems are all unjustifiable, as also all views on philosophical questions are indefensible. This masterly dissertation called into existence several commentaries, of which that of Vardhamānopādhyāya, early in the thirteenth century, is the earliest.

Pūrṇānanda Kavicakravartī of Gauḍa, a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, wrote his *Tattvamuktāvalī* or *Māyāvādasandūṣaṇī*, comprising 119 verses, not in support of, but to refute the a-dualistic Vedāntic theory, imputing 100 blemishes to the *Māyāvāda* of Śaṅkara.¹ The work, however, is no better than an epitome of Mādhavācārya's *Śatadūṣaṇī*. As he is quoted in the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*² of Mādhavācārya (1350 A.D.), he may be taken to belong to the period under review.

MIMĀMSĀ.

The Mīmāṃsā, or rather the Karma-Mīmāṃsā, is mainly concerned with the Vedic sacrifices, and formulates principles and determines injunctions on the basis of which the Vedic *mantras* are to be interpreted for sacrificial purposes.

As early as 443 A.D., the date of the first of the five Dāmodarpur copper-plate grants,³ we find a Brāhmaṇa, Karpaṭika, applying to the local government of Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya (in north Bengal) for purchase of a parcel of land for convenient performances of *Agnihotra* sacrifices, which fall categorically within the Karma-kāṇḍa of the Vedas. The history of the cultivation of Karma-Mīmāṃsā in Bengal, therefore, goes back to the fifth century A.D., if not earlier still. Not earlier than the seventh century the school received a fresh and very strong impetus under the auspices of its two mighty exponents, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and his traditional disciple, Prabhākara, and with the sharp divergence, although not so much in the leading principles, of the teachings of these two teachers, there arose two divisions in the school, one following Kumārila and the other adhering to Prabhākara. It has been proposed, as if to take vengeance upon tradition, that Prabhākara preceded Kumārila by at least half a century, on no better grounds than that the former's style is simpler and that he does not refer to Kumārila.⁴ Why Prabhākara was reluctant to refer to the name of his teacher, who was his opponent, too, in his writings is difficult to answer; but the fact that he was

¹ Tr. E. B. Cowell, J.R.A.S., 1883, Part II for April.

² Tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, 1882, p. 73.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, Part III.

⁴ *Karma Mīmāṃsā*, A. B. Keith, 1921, pp. 9-10.

so reluctant does not constitute any reason that his relation, which is maintained by a fairly old tradition, with Kumārila as his disciple should be discredited, and the question of style in the seventh or eighth century A.D. is far less any proof. In any case, however, the views of both Kumārila and Prabhākara, often referred to as *Bhaṭṭa-mata* and *Guru-mata* respectively, found hearty and firm support in Bengal throughout the whole of the early period, and the statement that the school of Prabhākara 'could not win many followers in later times'¹ seems to be ineffective in so far as it concerns Bengal and Southern India. We know of a grant of land that was made in the tenth century A.D. to one who expounded the Prabhākara in the Nāgeśvara temple at Kumbakonam.² Again the Gadag inscription of the 23rd year of the reign of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI (1098 A.D.) records, amongst other things, that his *dharmādhikārin*, Someśvara Bhaṭṭa, founded at Lokkiguṇḍi a school for the study of the Prabhākara doctrines of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā.³ As to Bengal the instances are many more.

Prabhākara's *Byhatī*, which is itself a commentary on Sabara-svāmī's *Bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*, was subcommented, doubtless for the first time, by Śālikanātha Miśra in his famous *Rjuvimālā*. Śālikanātha was also the author of a *Mīmāṃsā* compendium, entitled *Prakarāṇa-pañcikā*, in which he 'deals with the more important epistemological and metaphysical views of his teacher'⁴ (Prabhākara). Udayanācārya (tenth century) in his logical treatise, *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, refers, as pointed out, to a *Mīmāṃsaka* of Gauḍa, which his subcommentator, Varadarāja, explains as referring to the author of the *Pañcikā* (*Pañcikā-kāra*).⁵ The identification of this *Pañcikā-kāra* with the *Prakarāṇa-pañcikā-kāra* admits of no doubt, and Śālikanātha thus appears to have been a Bengali. It is also likely that the *Gauḍa-Mīmāṃsaka*, whom the logician Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya refers to in his *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, is the same as Śālikanātha.⁶ Although of uncertain date, Śālikanātha cannot be placed on this side of the eighth century. In the ninth century, Nārāyaṇa, an inhabitant of North Rāḍha in West Bengal and author of the *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa*, tells us that he attained fame by strengthening the tenets of Prabhākara (*Prabhākara-mata-sthiti-labdhā-kīrttiḥ*), and also that his grandfather, Umāpati, was a follower of that school (*Prabhākara-grāmanīḥ*).⁷ Again in the *Laṭaka-melakaṁ*, a comical sketch by Śaṅkhaadhara of Kanauj,

¹ *History of Indian Philosophy*, S. N. Das Gupta, Vol. I, p. 372.

² *South Indian Epigraphy*, *Ann. Rep.* for 1912, p. 65.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 355, v. 75.

⁴ Keith's *Karma Mīmāṃsā*, p. 9.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 202.

⁶ *Ibid.*, and *J.A.S.B.*, 1918, XIV, N.S., p. 281.

⁷ Eggeling's *Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, *India Office Library*, London, Part I, pp. 92-93.

we have a passage to the effect—*Rādhīyair-ati-harṣa-gadagadagalaiḥ Prābhākaraḥ śrūyate* (II. 16).¹ This demonstrates, notwithstanding the line is sarcastical, that Prabhākara's doctrines were in operation in Bengal as late as the twelfth century A.D., when Śaṅkhaḍhara lived. This may further be illustrated by a concrete example, that of Nīlāmbara, father of Govardhanācārya. In v. 38 of his *Āryā-saptasatī* he alludes to his father's *guru*, and his commentator, Ananta Paṇḍita, explains it as referring to Prabhākara in whose *tantra* (doctrine) Nīlāmbara had gained proficiency (*Prabhākara-tantra-niṣṇatvaṁ*).²

As regards the school of Kumārila, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated scholar and minister to King Harivarmā of East Bengal, wrote a learned commentary, under the title of *Tautātika-matātilakam*, on Kumārila's *Tantravārtika*. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa dates either from the last quarter of the eleventh or from the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Inscriptions of Bengal furnish some further instances of the cultivation of Mīmāṃsā in the eleventh century. Kṛṣṇāditya Śarmaṇa, the recipient of the Bāṅgaḍ copper-plate grant of Mahīpāla I, was a student of Mīmāṃsā amongst other subjects.³ So, too, was Khoduladeva Śarmaṇa, the recipient of the Āṅgāchi copper-plate grant of Vīgrahapāla III.⁴ Of Kārtikeya, the father of Prahāsa of Śiyamba, we are told that he was 'the foremost of śrotīya, by whom the ocean of the Mīmāṃsā (philosophy) was narrowed into the impression of a cow's hoof'. Kārtikeya's father, Taponidhi, was also one 'who attained perception in the doctrines of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (*niṣṭhān-gato-Bhaṭṭa-mate(h)*).⁵ In the twelfth century, King Vallālasena, in the introduction of his *Adbhuta-sāgara*, speaks of his preceptor, Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, as one well versed in Mīmāṃsā. After that Halāyudha, the Judge under Lakṣmaṇasena, wrote a work entitled *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, as is stated in an introductory verse of his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, but no MS. of it is yet known to have been discovered.⁶

NYĀYA.

It has been observed that 'we have no trace of any activity in the field of Nyāya in Bengal before the thirteenth century, when the foundation was laid by Gaṅgeśa of Mithilā of what is called *Navya-Nyāya* (modern logic) in contradistinction to *Prācīna Nyāya*

¹ N.S.P. ed., Act II, v. 16, p. 22.

² N.S.P. ed., p. 13, v. 38.

³ Cf. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, A. K. Maitra (V.R.S.).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 293, vv. 16 and 14.

⁶ But it should be noted that under the same title was written a Mīmāṃsā treatise by Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, son of Accamāmbā and Kollūri Somayājīn of the Deccan: see *Catalogues of Sanskrit MSS. in the Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, IV, Part I, Sanskrit B, pp. 5084-85.

(old school of logic).¹ The statement lacks caution. We definitely know that Kṛṣṇāditya Śarmaṇa, the donee of the Bāṅgaḍ grant of Mahīpāla I, was a student of logic (*tarka-vid*); so also was that of the Āṅgāchi copper-plate grant of Vīgrahapāla III. Prahāsa of Sīyamba, too, is stated to have 'unsurpassed knowledge in logic'.² More important is the fact that Trilocana of Bengal, who was the teacher of Vācaspati, and who is refuted in the *Apohasiddhi* of Ratnakīrti, probably of the tenth century, was the author of a logical treatise, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*.³ A MS. of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* exists, but the author's name does not appear therein.⁴ In the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha* of Mādhavācārya the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* is cited,⁵ and it may really be that it is Trilocana's.

VAIŚEṢIKA.

The only known Vaiśeṣika work that early Bengal is yet known to have produced is the *Nyāya-Kandalī* of Śrīdhara who wrote it either in 988⁶ or more probably in 991 A.D. It is a commentary, as is well known, on Praśastapāda's exegesis (*bhāṣya*) on the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* of Kanāda. Son of Baladeva and Abbokā or Acchokā, he was an inhabitant of Bhurīśreṣṭhī (modern Bhursut) in South Rāḍha, and enjoyed the patronage of a local chief, Pāṇḍudāsa. The *Nyāya-kandalī* found at a later time a commentator in Rājasekhara who refers to three other commentaries on Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya*, viz. the *Vyomavatī* (by Vyomaśekhara), the *Kīraṇāvalī* (by Udayana) and the *Līlāvatī* (by Śrīvatsācārya),⁷ but Śrīdhara's commentary excels even that of Udayana in the elaborate but simple nature of exposition. The time represented by Śrīdhara probably witnessed in Bengal a lively cultivation of Vaiśeṣika philosophy, for we further know that Atīśa Dīpaṅkara also was proficient in Vaiśeṣika.⁸

SĀMĀKHYA.

The *Sāṁkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya*, that bears the name of Gauḍapāda as its author, is an exposition of the 72 *kārikās* or memorial verses of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. But the identity of Gauḍapāda of the *Māṇḍukya-kārikā* with Gauḍapāda of the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā-bhāṣya* has

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 206.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 294, v. 20.

³ *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts*, ed. H. P. Śāstrī, Bib. Ind., 1910.

⁴ *Report on the Search for Sans. MSS.* for 1883-84, R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 6.

⁵ Tr. Cowell and Gough, p. 195.

⁶ *Mitra's Notices*, VIII, No. 2589, p. 46; *Report* for 1883-84, R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. 313-14.

⁷ Peterson's *Third Report on the Search for Sans. MSS.*, 1884-88, pp. 27 and 273.

⁸ *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, p. 50.

been suspected in view of the diverseness of thought between the two works.¹ There are, however, numerous instances of individuals taking themselves to different branches of philosophy, and the simple explanation is that every one of them is more a culturist than a propagandist or doctrinaire.

The hylotheistic scheme of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, however, did not suit the Bengali temperament, and it was almost a neglected subject with them not only in early but also mediæval periods of history.

¹ *Indian Philosophy*, S. Radhakrishnan, Vol. II, p. 255, and p. 452, fn. i.

SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

(300 B.C. TO 300 A.D.)

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Sources of Information.

The principal sources of information for this period are literary records of which the most important are the *Dīpavamśa* and the *Mahāvamśa*. The *Dīpavamśa*¹ is the earlier of the two and is generally accepted as a composition of the fourth century A.D. The *Mahāvamśa* is perhaps a work of the succeeding century. Whether there was an old historical work from which these two books drew their material or they were independent ones it is not possible to say. It is reasonable to assume that there was some older work. But it is expressly clear that the *Mahāvamśa* is indebted to the *Dīpavamśa* for several of its details.²

The *Dīpavamśa* furnishes the history of the island from its legendary beginnings. It can be considered as a reduction into Pali verses of the old floating traditions preserved by the monks especially of the Mahāvihāra in Anurādhapura. Portions of the *Aṭṭhakathā*, which is the ancient commentary on the canonical writings of the Ceylon Buddhists, have been bodily adopted by the *Dīpavamśa*. Just like the *Aṭṭhakathā*, there was in existence the *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamśa* preserved in various monasteries and of which there were various recensions. The *Dīpavamśa*, like the *Mahāvamśa*, takes the history of Ceylon down to the reign of Mahāsena, i.e. the commencement of the fourth century A.D. We are not able to know who the author of the *Dīpavamśa* was. But it is certain that like the author of the *Mahāvamśa*, Buddhaghosa drew largely from it for the introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā*.³

Students of the *Mahāvamśa* like Fleet and Geiger believe rightly that this chronicle is 'a conscious and intentional re-arrangement of the *Dīpavamśa*'. The author of the *Mahāvamśa* was one Mahānāma.⁴ Unlike the *Dīpavamśa*, this chronicle presents the history of the island systematically. There is a method and a well-conceived plan. The author has taken sufficient pains to present his material

¹ Edited by H. Oldenberg, London, 1879.

² See *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa* und Die geschichtliche Überlieferung in Ceylon by Geiger, Leipzig, 1905; tr. into English by E. M. Coomaraswamy, Colombo, 1908.

³ Edited by H. Oldenberg, the *Vinaya Pitakam* (iii).

⁴ R. Davids, *JRAS*, 1905, p. 391.

in an acceptable form. What the *Cūlavamsā* later records, viz. that King Dhātusēna ordered the writings of a *dīpikā* on the *Dīpavamsā* and in lieu thereof gave a thousand pieces of gold (38. 59), is fittingly applicable to the production of the *Mahāvamsā*.¹ We know Dhātusēna reigned about the commencement of the sixth century A.D.

We may add to these two important works, the *Mahāvamsaṭṭhikā*. It is certainly a late work, as late, perhaps, as the eleventh century A.D. or even after. This *Ṭikā* is important in the sense that it supplements the material contained in both the *Dīpavamsā* and the *Mahāvamsā*. The author of this *Ṭikā* has gone to the original old work which was still available to him. Probably it was the same source to which the authors of the *Dīpavamsā* and the *Mahāvamsā* were indebted. Though the *Ṭikā* itself is a very late composition, its value consists in recording ancient events from a reliable source of information. So whatever importance we give to these chronicles, may be bestowed on the *Ṭikā* also.

Taking these chronicles as a whole, it was a bone of contention among scholars whether the material contained in them could be treated as authentic history. Geiger has critically examined the various theories and has come to the definite conclusion that the traditions transmitted in them have an historical basis, and the simple facts presented in them could be used as trustworthy material for the early history of Ceylon. It is pointed out that the list of the Indian kings before Aśoka furnished by the chronicles agrees fully with that seen in the *Purāṇas*. That Mahinda was the apostle of Ceylon is referred to by Hiuen Tsang.² Further, the *Mahāvamsā* mentions Majjhima as the teacher who converted the Himalayan region, while the *Dīpavamsā* mentions Kassapagotto as his companion there. This fact is confirmed by inscriptional evidence. These names are written in the inner and outer lids of the relic-urn discovered in Tope No. 2 of the Sāñci group.³ In the same place in an inscription on a relic-casket is seen the expression *Sapurisasa Mogaliputasa*, most probably a reference to the Moggaliputta Tissa of the chronicles. Further, Grunwedel discovered in the sculptures of the lower and middle architraves of the east gate of the Sāñci Tope the representation of the transplanting of a branch of the Bodhi tree from Uruvela to Ceylon.⁴ Lastly, the tradition is generally supported by Ceylonese epigraphy, as we shall see.

¹ Fleet, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 5, n. 1.

² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 246-7.

³ Cunningham: *The Bhilsa Topes*, p. 287. See also Marshall: *Monuments of Sāñci*.

⁴ See R. Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 302; also *Introduction to Mahāvamsā* by Geiger, pp. xii-xx, London, 1912.

The other works which are pressed into service in writing the history of this period are the *Dīvyāvadāna*, the *Thūpavamśa*, the *Rājāvalī* and the *Rājaratnākara*. Some of them are legends of a far later period and are to be treated with caution, and their material should be used with discrimination. The *Rājaratnākara* consists of extracts from ancient books. Though it ranks secondary in importance, it is held in high esteem, as Edward Upham points out, by the Ceylonese. It takes the history of Ceylon to the settlement of the Portuguese in the island. It is treated as one of the sacred books, and it is often referred to as a historical document of value.

The *Rājāvalī*, on the other hand, is a work by different authors. It is chiefly compiled from local histories. The story is continued to the struggle between the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the success of the latter. Its value consists in its still preserving the ancient names and traditions of Ceylon. These books are also used inasmuch as they transmit the tradition almost faithfully. They are used either to confirm certain details or reject other points given in the older chronicles like the *Dīpavamśa* and the *Mahāvamśa*.

The *Thūpavamśa* (the Legend of the Topes) was written in Pali by one Vācissara Thera in the reign of King Parākramabāhu I (1153-86 A.D.). Though a late work, it records faithfully the old tradition of the propagation and spread of Buddhism in Ceylon. It shows how the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa was responsible for sending out missionaries throughout India and Ceylon. We are treated elaborately of the arrival of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā to Ceylon and their successful efforts in converting the island into a land of Buddhism. It must be remembered that there is no mention of Aśoka having taken any part in this activity. Dr. B. C. Law is of opinion that it was done intentionally to enhance the position of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* and the prestige of its elders. The services of Devānampiyatissa and Duṭṭhagāmaṇi are furnished with a wealth of detail and do not militate against the older versions contained in the *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa*. Thus this work is valuable to a student of Buddhism in ancient Ceylon.¹

The Pāli *Aṭṭhakathās* or commentaries are another source of light not only on the Buddhist life in Ceylon but also on social and economic conditions. The chief author of the commentaries on the canonical texts like Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma was Buddhaghoṣa. The other chief writer was Dharmapāla. The former gathered the materials scattered in the Sinhalese commentaries and presented them in Pāli.

¹ *Thūpavamśa*, ed. by Dr. B. C. Law for the Pali Text Society, 1935; trn. by the same author in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1945. See also *Mahāvamśa*.

Though his compositions were written early in the fifth century A.D., yet the material is old. For instance, the list of teachers furnished in the *Samantapāsādikā*, a commentary on the Vinaya, does not contain the name of any therā after the first century A.D. In the *Viśuddhimagga* Buddhaghōṣa analyses the Buddhist teachings with precision. He also wrote commentaries on the four principal *Nikāyas* of which the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* on the *Dīgha Nikāya* may be specially mentioned. The latest writer on Ceylonese Buddhism gives as many as 28 sources of the Pāli commentaries. There were many more.¹ Among them was the *Andhakatṭhakathā* which belonged to earlier than the first century A.D. This was handed down at Kāñcī. Buddhaghōṣa could not see eye to eye with its expositions. There were again Porāṇas expounding the Buddhist culture. From the nature of the contents they resemble the Hīndu Purāṇa literature. And the Porāṇakatheras were those teachers who expounded the teaching of the Buddha. The composers of this kind of literature were known Porāṇācāryas. The *Porāṇatṭhakathā* was the commentary on the Porāṇas.² Hereditary reciters of tradition were named *Bhāṇakas* and this practice continued at least to the days of Buddhaghōṣa. These sources throw light on the course which Buddhism took in the island. Surely one traces in them differences from the canonical texts.

The Evidence of Epigraphy.

The Vessagiri Inscriptions have been discovered in the forest-bound cluster of rocks in Anurādhapura, the site of Vessagiri Vihāra erected by Devanāmpīya Tissa. The inscriptions consist of those on caves and also rocks and are in the Brāhmī-lipi. They furnish no historical date but palaeographically they are the most ancient Ceylonese inscriptions. The inscriptions are brief but they point to the custom of dedicating caves to monks for shelter. Only names of persons are mentioned. Perhaps most of them were donors, and some of them were female devotees.³

The Mahā-Ratmale Rock Inscription, Anurādhapura, is again in the Brāhmī characters of the second century A.D. We have here the names of three kings Devanāmpīya Tissa-mahārāja, Devanāmpīya Putikana Gāmini Abhara-mahārāja, and Devanāmpīya Nakamahārāja identified respectively with Vankanasika Tissa, Gajabāhu and Mahāllaka Nāga. Grants given to the Buddhist monasteries are recorded here. The Perumaiyan-kulam Rock Inscription is dated circa 66-110 A.D. and was discovered north of the Bodhi tree

¹ See E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, pp. 10ff.

² For a different view, see Adikaram, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-22.

³ *Ep. Zey.*, I, No. 2.

of Anurādhapura. The inscription notifies a gift of revenue derived from water supply to a thera in the reign of King Vasabha of the Lambakarna dynasty.¹

The Rīṭigala Inscription,² also in Brāhmī characters, must be dated anterior to 200 B.C., for it mentions the names of Devanāmpiya Mahārāja Gāmaṇi Tissa and his son Abhaya, and gifts of caves to the Buddhist clergy. The first of these kings has been identified with Saddhā Tissa, the father of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. Saddhā Tissa's elder brother Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had the appellation Gāmaṇi because of his sovereignty over Mahāgāma.³ Abhaya may be Lañja Tissa. Aritṭhavihāra was built by Saddhā Tissa. Other persons mentioned in the inscription are Her Eminence Anuḍi (Anulā) and two sons—Parumaka Ūtiya and Parurmaka Tissa. The latter is identified as Mahācūla Mēha Tissa who was donor of the cave temple Gallena Vihāra.

The Pālu Mākiccāva Inscription relates to Gajabāhu I. It is said that he spent 5,000 karṣāpaṇas for the excavation of Vadamānaka tank in the Upala district and granted it for the use of the priesthood at Thūpārāma.⁴

The Jetavanarana Inscription relates to Mālu Tissa, *circa* 229-47 A.D. Its language is ancient Sinhalese. The king Mālu Tissa is said to be the son of King Nāga. It refers to a grant to a monastery attached to Abhayagiri fraternity.⁵

From these inscriptions we can check easily not only the veracity of the accounts in respect of kings mentioned by the Ceylonese chronicles, but also know the great interest taken by these ancient kings in the promotion of the Buddhist church in general.

Political History.

The history of Ceylon is as ancient as that of S. India, if not more. Its antiquity goes far back to the geological times when it formed part of the Gondwana land. The mountains of this ancient island consist of old, hard, crystalline rocks, resembling the Deccan trap. Archaeological finds of the palaeolithic period consisting of a few tools of shells, cherts and quartz near the caves of the Veddhas and of the neolithic dolmens and cists near Rambukhana and in the Batticalva district and other places take the prehistory of Ceylon to remote times. Then there is the traditional history of the island being occupied by the ferocious tribe of the Rākṣasas who were overcome by the mighty arms of the epic hero Rāma. In the *Mahābhārata* we are told that the Sinhalas were present at the

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, I, No. 6.

² *Ibid.*, No. 10.

³ *Mahā.*, XXIII, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 22.

Rājasūya sacrifice performed by the Pāṇḍavas at Indraprastha (Delhi) (II. 34. 12).

According to the traditions narrated in the Ceylonese chronicles it transpires that besides the remnants of the old tribe of the Rākṣasas, the island was occupied by two primitive peoples, the Yakkhas and the Nāgas. When a prince Vijaya by name landed in the island, he wrested it from the possession of the Yakkhas.

Though the island was popularly known as Lankādīpa, Lankā was originally one of the four or five divisions of the whole of Ceylon. The other divisions went by the names of Nāgadīpa, Tambapaṇṇidīpa, Giridīpa and Ojadīpa. While the Lankādīpa embraced the eastern and south-eastern portion of the island, the north coast was known as the Nāgadīpa and the western and south-western parts by the name of Tambapaṇṇidīpa. The central hilly tracts were designated Giridīpa. The territory through which the river Kadamba flows was known as the Ojadīpa. The Nāgadīpa consists of three main settlements of the Nāga tribe, one on the banks of the river Kalyāṇī, the second on the sea border, and the third on the Kannāvaddhamana hill of the Giridīpa. The ancient Nāgas had their residence both on the hilly tracts and on the coastal plains. Very near the Nāgadīpa was the isle of Kara named Ahidīpa, the island of snakes.¹

The Yakkhas occupied the two divisions of Tambapaṇṇidīpa and Lankādīpa especially in the plains of the west coast and east coast respectively. In the plains, again, lay the Sumanakūṭa, identified as Adam's Peak, and Mount Lankā. The hilly regions covered by the division of Tambapaṇṇidīpa were also known as the Malaya region. In this tract of land came and settled the Pulindas in much later times. Sirisavatthu was the principal city of the Yakkha establishment. Lankāpura was another capital. The rules of marriage were strictly observed and a Yakkha woman wooing a member outside the pale of her community met with severe punishment.²

The *Valāhassa-Jātaka* refers to the Tambapaṇṇi division which extended along the coast on the west bounded by river Kalyāṇī (modern Kaelani-Ganga) in the south and Nāgadīpa in the north. Sirisavatthu, literally the abode of Hari, was located here. The same *Jātaka* further informs us that the island was peopled by she-goblins who enticed shipwrecked foreign merchants and finally devoured them. These were women of the Yakkha tribe.³ Later Hiuen Tsang cites a tradition of a division of the island which

¹ *The Jātakas*, Book XVIII, No. 480.

² *Mahā.*, XII, 67-68; VI. 32, 34; 43-45; 62-64; also B. M. Barua, *Ceylon Lectures*, Lecture II, Calcutta, 1945.

³ *The Jātakas*, Book II, No. 196.

was designated Ratnadīpa (perhaps the Ratnapura near Adam's Bridge), being the Iron City which was under the rule of female rulers of the Rākṣasa tribe.¹ There is still a village near Ratnapura named Habaragāma, probably Sabaragame, which reminds one of a Śabara settlement. The Śabaras and Pulindas were forest tribes of S. India according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. While this may point out to a migration of these tribes from S. India, the *Mahāvamśa* explains the origin of the Pulindas as rising out of the two children of Vijaya by the Yakkhiṇī Kuvenī. It stands to reason to take that the Veddhas of modern Ceylon are akin to these ancient tribes of Śabaras and Pulindas of S. India.²

The Veddhas are today in a low state of culture. They worship a goddess known as Kiri Amma identified with Mohiṇī. Her son was Aiyappan, the popular forest god of all Ceylon affording protection to travellers in woods and forests. This Aiyappan cult is still popular in Malabar. Perhaps Aiyai or the goddess celebrated in the Tamil epic *Silappadikāram* bears some relation to Aiyappan. The Sinhalese tradition narrates that this god was introduced into the island from Madura. Not only he but his half-brother Murugan is also another favoured deity of the Veddhas. It may be remembered that Tamil tradition associates him with the hill god of the Maṇavar, another name for the Vēṭṭuvar tribe.³ The backward sections of the Ceylonese Veddhas call Murugan by the name Gale yaka, or the demon of the rock. But the Kandyan Sinhalese speak of him as Gale Deviya and Demala yaka (Tamil Demon). The Veddhas themselves call him Malai Pey or Malaiyasvāmi.⁴

During the rule of Pāṇḍukābbaya of the fourth century B.C. this Malaiyan god is referred to as Vyadhadeva, Vyadha in Sanskrit meaning hunters. But the same god got the appellation of Puradeva in the time of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. It is just possible that the cult of Murugan, peculiarly S. Indian, was introduced into Ceylon by the Veddha immigrants. Local traditions affirm that the place where this god landed was Kandavanamturai where he was installed in a shrine. One tradition has it that the cult originally came from Tiruccendur in the present Tinnevely district. The god was followed by his minister Kurumbada deva.⁵

Another legend says that it was at Kataragāma (originally Kajaragāma) that Kandan killed his foe Śūrapadman and later adopted Valliyamma, the child discovered in a forest and adopted by the Veddhas, as his consort. What is of much interest is that in modern Katirgāma we do not see any idol of Muruga but a

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, pp. 239ff.; *Mahāvamśa*, VII. 67-68.

² Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

³ For the culture of the Tamil Vēṭṭuvar tribe, see *Silap.*, Canto XII.

⁴ Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 147 (Luzac & Co., 1909).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-78.

symbol in the form of a small casket in front of the screen with the god on it. It is the casket that is taken out in procession and the convention is that seven Veddha women dressed in the old style retain the privilege to take it out in procession. Venison is the principal offering to this god. If we turn to the pages of the *Tirumurugārrupadai* in honour of Murugan, we see that this god is propitiated by the sacrifice of fowls, goats and toddy drink. The worship is done by the mystic finger signs.¹ It may be presumed that the dominant Murugan cult became blended with the serpent cult of the Nāgas, so much so that we associate the serpent with Murugan cult nowadays. Need it be said that the Murugan cult was a distinct contribution of S. India to Ceylon.

The chronicles of Ceylon narrate the story of the landing of one Vijaya from northern India who was consecrated later king. The *Divyāvadāna* furnishes a different version. According to this, a merchant prince Simpala, son of Simha in India, entered this island with his followers. All of them married the Rākṣasa women of the country and settled there. The old customs were abolished, and Aryan modes of life and culture were introduced in the land. Much credence need not be placed on this account. But Vijaya's coming to Ceylon may be admitted as a fact. He made Tambapaṇṇi his capital while his minister founded Anurādhapura.²

Vijaya felt that unless a suitable maiden was got from the Indian continent he could not ascend the throne. Even his ministers wanted wives from India. These sent messengers laden with precious gems and gifts to the city of Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital to meet the ruler and ask his daughter to be given in wedding to Vijaya. The Pāṇḍyan king was further requested to send a number of accomplished maidens fit to be wives of the ministers. The messengers met the king and the Pāṇḍyan consulted his council. It was agreed to send a hundred girls under the leadership of the Pāṇḍyan's daughter. A public proclamation calling for maidens willing to go to Lankā and get married was issued and the response was quite good. This party set out by way of the sea to Lankā accompanied by craftsmen and a thousand families of the eighteen guilds. They landed at Mahātīttha (the great landing place). (This is now Mantota, opposite the island of Mannar). The envoys from Madura met the conqueror Vijaya, presented gifts on behalf of their king and also the maidens. Vijaya in return treated them warmly. At this the full assembly consecrated Vijaya king and the Pāṇḍyan daughter as queen. He then made it a point to send his father-in-law at Madura every year a shell-pearl worth thousands of money.³

¹ Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 144 et seq.

³ See also Edward Upham, *Mahāvamsa*, p. 70.

² *Dīpa.*, IX. 31 and 35.

After 38 years of good rule Vijaya died childless and it was his wish that his brother Sumitta should succeed him. But he had already become king of Sīhapura¹ (Kalinga) and therefore Sumitta sent his son Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva to Ceylon. Accordingly Pāṇḍu Vāsudeva arrived in Lankā and was received with all honours. It so happened that a princess of the Śākya—who were persecuted by the Kośala king Viṣṇudabha before the decease of the Buddha—fair of form and named Bhaddakaccānā arrived at Upatissagāma and was finally adopted as queen. Their son Abhaya was next consecrated king.² Though the chronicles speak of the princess Bhaddakaccānā of the Śākya clan from a country beyond the Ganges, Professor Barua offers a plausible suggestion that the Śākya clan referred to is the family of the Ikṣvākus (Okkāka), who had settled on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in South India. He is of opinion that the legend of Princess Bhaddakaccānā and the appearance of Ikṣvāku princess as gāmaṇīs presuppose the immigration and settlement of the S.I. Ikṣvākus in Ceylon during or after the reign of Vijaya. We would not be led far astray if we accept this. It is highly improbable that a party came from beyond the Ganges all the way to Ceylon. Though these Ikṣvākus came into power later their migration to the Andhradeśa must have been very much earlier. If we are to believe Nayasena's *Dharmāmṛtam*,³ a Kannaḍa work, it was in the time of the Tirthankara Vasupriya that Ikṣvāku Yaśodhara of Aṅga settled in the Veṅgi region of the Āndhra country. This may or may not be correct. It is just possible that the movement of the Ikṣvākus into the south was even earlier. If this were accepted, then the Ikṣvākus referred to in Ceylonese history of this time can be identified with the Ikṣvākus of the Āndhradeśa.

Whatever may be the truth of these accounts, the fact seems to be that there was a flourishing dynasty of rulers over Tambapaṇṇi during the reign of Aśoka, the great Mauryan emperor of India. We have the unimpeachable testimony of his inscriptions referring to this portion of Ceylon. In the Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka, Tambapaṇṇi is mentioned along with the southern Indian kingdoms. This reference is significant as it shows that the Mauryan empire was in relation with Ceylon and S. India. That Taprobane, which is only Tambapaṇṇi, was a flourishing mart is corroborated by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to Candragupta Maurya's court. The *Indika* of Megasthenes tells us that this region Taprobane was rich in precious gems, pearls and elephants.⁴ From this we have to infer that the Mauryan capital Pāṭaliputra, which alone was

¹ See *Śilap.*, Preface, I. 47; XXIII. II. 138-140; *Maṇi.*, XXVI. II. 15-17.

² *Mahā.*, Chs. VII-IX.

³ Part II, pp. 76-77. Ed. by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore Oriental Library Publication, 1926.

⁴ McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 1877; Megasthenes and Arrian, p. 62.

visited by Megasthenes, was aware of the wealthy island of Ceylon and that the early Mauryan emperors had commercial and trade relations with that island. But it cannot be disputed that Aśoka's empire had cultural relations with Ceylon.

According to the Ceylonese chronicles, the contemporary ruler of Aśoka, the Mauryan emperor, was one Devānampiya Tissa, the second son and successor of King Muṭaśiva. It is further stated that this line of kings was different from the Vijaya line of kings ruling from Simhapura. We are also told that there was no Buddhism prevalent in the island when King Muṭaśiva was ruling and that its first introduction was only in the time of his son Devānampiya Tissa (247-207 B.C.) who was succeeded in order by his younger brothers Uttiya and Mahāśiva and Sūratissa. Sūratissa reigned for ten years (187-177 B.C.) devoting all his time to meritorious works. It was in his time that two men by name Sena and Guttaka from the Tamil country invaded Ceylon. They were the sons of a horse merchant. The two brothers collected a vast army and attacked King Sūratissa. The latter was defeated and the brothers seized the throne. They reigned together for twenty-two years (177-155 B.C.). This rule was just and on righteous lines. After this interlude, the kingship again passed to the old royal line. It appears a son of Muṭaśiva named Asela collected a huge force and repulsed the usurpers. Anurādhapura became once more the capital and Asela continued to hold sway for ten years.

The trouble of invasion from the Tamil land was not over. The chronicles say that a prince of the Chōḷa dominion set his covetous eyes on Ceylon. His name was Elāra. He attacked and vanquished Asela by his superior arms. Elāra proceeded to settle in the land and got himself crowned. His rule lasted for a long period of 44 years, from 145 to 101 B.C. It was memorable for even-handed justice. The story goes that he was so keen on doing justice personally that he caused a bell of justice to be hung up with a long rope near his bedroom. The aggrieved party was to go and ring it. The king would come out and enquire into the case and pronounce judgement. In this connection a number of stories are narrated according to which justice was done to both beast and man. Among them one or two are as follows:

The only son of the king once drove in his car to the Tissa-tank. On the way it ran over a young calf lying on the road. The calf instantaneously died, the wheel having run over its neck. The mother cow came to the palace and pulled at the bell of justice for redress of her grievance. Without reflecting even for a moment the king ordered—though he was his only son and though it was done unintentionally—that that son's head be crushed with the same wheel. Another instance pertained to the king himself. Once when he was driving his car, it struck a sacred *stūpa* and injured it. Seeing

the building of a sacred edifice damaged, the king threw himself on the road and commanded the wheel to be run over him. The ministers pleaded with reason that no life was injured and only there was a damage of property. For this the punishment amounted to building anew the *stūpa*. This he agreed to and spent a large sum of money in renewing the damaged portion. It is further said that he was such a righteous monarch that he preferred an appeal to the Lord of the Rains to ask the heavens not to rain any more in the daytime but only during nights when everybody had gone to rest. His request was granted. So long as he ruled, rains did not visit the island during daytime.¹

We are reminded in this connection of a Manunītikaṇḍa Chōlan who is said to have done the same thing as Ēlāra. A stanza in the *Palāmoli*² says that this Chōla monarch had his son crushed under the wheels of the chariot for having unwittingly got his vehicle run over a calf, for which its mother, the cow pleaded for justice by approaching the palace and ringing the bell with its horns. From this it is to be inferred that Ēlāra himself was the Manunītikaṇḍa Chōlan of Tamil literary tradition, who spread his righteous sway in the island of Lankā. The other probability is that he may be the Chōla who is known in Tamil classics as

Tūṅgeyilearinda Toṭittot Śembiyan.

There is still an Ēlāra tomb in S. Ceylon which attracts a number of Sinhalese as a place of worship.

Vararāmadeva is said to be the only son of this Manunītikaṇḍa Chōlan. His son was Kulakottan (Sen Tamil II). There is an inscription on a stone door of the Konesar temple at Trincomallee (Tirukkonamalai), which has a reference to the shrine having been erected by one Kulakottan. This inscription has been read in different ways. It may be reasonable to identify this Kulakottan with the grandson of Manunītikaṇḍa Chōlan. The inscription says, Tiruppanīseydān, which may mean that he renovated. This shows that the temple in question had an air of antiquity about it and was one of the objects of patronage by the Chōla monarchs of S. India settled in Ceylon. According to Parker, before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi conquered North Ceylon, it was under the Tamils. His father and grandfather paid tribute to them. The Mahāwalle Ganga formed the boundary between the Tamil kingdom in the north and the Ceylonese territory in the south.

There is a popular tradition in the Tamil land which connects Ēlāra with Ēlālaśīṅgan, who was a close associate and disciple of the celebrated author of the *Tirukkural*, namely Tiruvalluvar. Being possessed of siddhic powers Valluvar is said to have saved Ēlālaśī-

¹ *Mahā.*, Ch. XXI.

² *St.*, 93.

gan when his ship was about to find a watery grave. This incident gave rise to the popular belief that the expression *Ēlayya* gives relief when lifting heavy weights. Still the labourers in South India indulge in the chorus of a song when they are put to hard labour :

yēlēlō yēlēlō yēlāvali yēlēlō.

This may be a legend, but the fact that tradition persists to this day indicates that there might be a spark of truth even in that legend. If the story of Vaḷḷuvar's association with *Ēlāra* is given credence, the controversy about the date of Tiruvaḷḷuvar will be set at rest. It is an indication that the saint flourished in the second century B.C. *Ēlāra*'s liberality and justice are testified to by another literary reference which points to the blind poet Andhakakavi Virarāghavan proficient in the *yāl*, who left his native country *Tonḍaināḍu* to Ceylon, who was the recipient of liberal gifts of land at the king's hands, who was addressed by *Ēlāla Śinga Śiromaṇi*.¹ He is said to have finally settled in a part of the island, which came to be known after as *Vālpānam*² (the modern Jaffna).

Now let us turn to Ceylon's ruling dynasty. Even when Prince *Gāmaṇi* was a boy the feelings against the Tamils became more and more strained. Ceylonese warriors were against the Tamils and there were a few engagements in which the Tamils were attacked and put to the sword. The numerical strength of the Tamils was consequently being diminished. Efforts were made to hold the Tamils in check by stationing guards at all the fords of the *Mahāgangā*. Prince *Gāmaṇi* made elaborate arrangements to collect a vast army and enlisted the best warriors of the time in his service. Honours were conferred on them. Soon the army consisted of nearly 12,000 warriors.³

In the meantime the reigning king, the father of *Gāmaṇi*, died and there was a civil war between the two brothers *Gāmaṇi* and *Tissa*.⁴ Finally *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi* was crowned as king. His war-thirst against the Tamils increased ten-fold. He set out to attack them. At a place called *Mahiyamgana* the Tamil chief *Chatta* was vanquished. A good number of Tamils were slain. Then *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi* continued his march and turned towards *Ambatitthaka* which was another stronghold of the Tamils. Here the chief was *Tittamba*. He was humbled after four months of fighting by having recourse to crafty methods. Thus *Gāmaṇi* went on conquering one after another seven mighty princes and collected a large booty which he distributed among his troops. Hence the place where

¹ Sen Tamil XII—Article on *Īlamandala Pulavar*.

² Note.—Some scholars believe *Yakkapattanam* became *Yappa Hinam*, later on anglicized as *Jaffna*.

³ *Ibid.*, Ch. XXIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. XXIV.

this took place came to be known as Khemarama. The king expressed that his conquest was not due to earth hunger but for establishing the doctrine of the *Sambuddha*. Those Tamils who had fled and escaped threw themselves for protection into the city of Vijitanagara. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi came to know this and ordered a march to this city. A terrible battle ensued and thousands of Tamils were slain near the east gate. It was a huge fort with strong walls and trenches. The best war elephants were set to attack the gates. The gates were shattered and the warriors broke the walls. They entered the fort and the Tamils were slaughtered. Vijitanagar capitulated after four months' siege. Thence his army reached Girilaka and its Tamil chief Giryā was put to the sword. Then Mahelanagara was attacked. It was a difficult fortress to be taken. It took another four months to reduce this, and that was possible only by using a carefully planned stratagem.

The Ceylonese army had advanced near Anurādhapura. King Ēlāra who had heard of the atrocities committed by Gāmaṇi on the Tamil soldiers in various places summoned his ministers and resolved to attack the conquering prince. According to the *Rājāvalī*, he was later on assisted by his younger brother who landed in the island with a large number of soldiers. Dīghajantu, the commander of Ēlāra, displayed heroic feats in the great battle that ensued. He shattered and scattered the enemy's troops and came face to face with Gāmaṇi. In the encounter Dīghajantu fell dead. This created confusion in the Tamil ranks and Ēlāra began to retreat. But he was pursued by Gāmaṇi to the south gate of Anurādhapura. The two doughty heroes fought fiercely. Ēlāra fell with his elephant. Victory drum was sounded. Then he entered the capital and ordered the funeral ceremonies for Ēlāra. After thus vanquishing successfully thirty-two Tamil chieftains, he proclaimed himself the sole monarch of all Ceylon, having brought it under one parasol.

In the meantime Bhallūka, the nephew of Ēlāra, had heard of the war between the Ceylonese and Tamils and landed in Ceylon with sixty-thousand men. This was only after a week of Ēlāra's death. Being a mighty hero himself he resolved to carry war into the enemy's territory. He attacked the king who seemed to retreat. But after a great encounter, Bhallūka fell. The victory was complete. He distributed places of honour among his warriors according to their rank. The Bhikkhus waited on him and comforted him. He caused the erection of Maricavaṭṭi Vihāra and provided endowments to make it over-flourishing. Thus was established the Buddhist faith after waging 28 battles with the Tamils by completely vanquishing them.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, Chs. XXV and XXVI.

The period of the three successors of Dutthagāmaṇi was one of peace. On the death of Lañjakatissa, his brother Khallatanāga reigned for six years (50-44 B.C.). He extended the buildings of the Lohapasāda and beautified them. A commander of his troops overpowered this ruler and was in turn killed by Khallatanāga's younger brother, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, who made himself king. The latter adopted the boy Mahaculika, son of his brother, as his son, and made the child's mother Anulādevī, his queen. A few months after the anointing ceremony, a Brahman named Tissa raised a rebellion. At the same time seven Damiḷas landed with troops in Mahatiṭṭha. They joined the rebel Tissa and demanded from the king the handing over of the parasol, being the symbol of kingly rank. The ruler, a shrewd statesman that he was, wrote to Tissa that the kingdom was his (Brahman's) and requested him to conquer the Tamils. Tissa was overpleased and began to wage war on the Tamil invaders. The Tamils not only conquered Tissa but proceeded to attack the ruler who was defeated in battle at Kolambalaka and fled in fear with his queen and two young sons. He found shelter with an attendant of a therā for fourteen years.

Of the seven Tamil chiefs, one fell in love with the queen Somadevī and returned with her to India, while another took the miraculous alms-bowl in Anurādhapura and made his way back to India. Another chief Pulahattha established his rule in the island. Hardly three years passed when his commander Bāhiya, a Tamilian, slew the master and set up his rule for two years. He in his turn was slain by his commander Panayamaraka who reigned for seven years. His commander-in-chief Pilayamara continued the tradition and killed his ruler and ascended the throne. Before seven months elapsed his commander Dāthika put him to the sword and continued his rule for two years with Anurādhapura as his capital. Thus the total period of the rule of these five Tamil kings extended over fourteen years and seven months.¹ It is said that after the engagement at Kolambalaka the Tamils levied a tax called *Kolambu Paṇa* which was remitted later by Śrī Nāga.

The followers of the old ruler Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya resented the rule of the Tamils and collected a huge force and killed Dāthika, the Tamil chief, and re-established their rule (29 B.C.). Several kings reigned after him. In 92 A.D., Sivalī, the younger sister of Culābhaya, was on the throne only for four months. She was removed by Ḥanāga, a nephew of Āmaṇḍa, a previous king. But even at the commencement he had trouble with the Lambakarnas, a powerful tribe of the island. The king was made captive and imprisoned. The queen, however, managed to send her little son to Malaya for safety. This was the period of interregnum for three years.

¹ *Ibid.*, Ch. XXXIII.

Gathering an army in Malaya, the royal army returned to give battle to the Lambakarna. Perhaps the Tamils also offered assistance to Īlanāga. The enemy met with a reverse and Īlanāga continued to reign for full six years (95-101 A.D.). Candamukha Śiva, his son, succeeded him and reigned for more than eight years. His consort was known by the name Damiladevī, apparently a Tamil princess. Both the king and queen took to works of merit and allotted some revenues to a *vihāra*. But he was murdered by his younger brother. The gate watchman who resembled him announced and he was accepted. But a member of the Lambakarna tribe by name Vasabha won him in battle and became king. He ruled for 44 years from 124-168 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Vankanāsika Tissa who had a short rule of three years. After his death in 171 A.D. his son Gajabāhukagāmaṇi, mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*, occupied the throne for 22 years.¹

According to another version² a number of Ceylonese labourers were in the employ of the contemporary Chōla king in S. India and Gajabāhu was urged by his people to bring them back to their country. This Chōla was possibly Karikālaccchōlan who wanted to put up a dam across the Kāvārī and utilize her waters for irrigation purposes. With this in view he seems to have brought thousands of Ceylonese to S. India. Gajabāhu was moved to wrath. With his favourite iron weapon Yakanda he landed in the Chōla capital and displayed great power in overcoming the enemy and brought his men back to the island. He was also able to recover the alms-bowl which had been carried away from the island sometime before.

From the Tamil classic we are able to gather that this Gajabāhu was invited to be present at the installation of the Pattini temple at Vañci Karuvūr, the Cera capital by King Senguṭṭuvan. This was in honour of Kaṇṇakī, the lady of chastity and wife of the merchant Kovalan of Puhār. From the large number of shrines dedicated to the Pattini cult in the island of Ceylon we are to infer that Gajabāhu was so much impressed by this, and introduced it in the island of Ceylon.

The *Rājavali* (p. 231) informs us that Gajabāhu took the foot ornaments of the Pattini Devī to the island. As if to confirm this, the anklet and not an image is still the emblem of worship in the several temples dedicated to Pattini in Ceylon. Though the anklet seems to be the dominating symbol of the Pattini cult, still there are images of Kannaki represented with one breast cut off. A statue of this type, discovered in Ceylon, is now housed in the British Museum, and has been reproduced as a frontispiece to my edition of the *Śilappadikāram* (O.U.P., 1939). In the Jaffna Museum today are found the head and feet of a colossal statue, which

¹ Ch. XXXV.

² E. Upham's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 228.

was standing in the Kannaki temple at Anganamaikadevai near Kantarodai, believed to be the statue of Gajabāhu. This leaves no room for doubt that the Kannaki story was no myth but a historical fact. It also proves amply that Gajabāhu was present at the installation of the temple by the Cera king Śenguttuvan and that he enthusiastically spread the cult in the island of Ceylon.¹

During the interval after Gajabāhu to the reign of Mahāsēna (325-52 A.D.) there is no mention of any political relations between the Ceylonese kings and the Tamil monarchs. Perhaps it was one of peaceful communications, both being in the nature of allies. In the time of Mahāsēna, however, it is stated that he became a good friend of the king of Kalinga, Guha Siha. He sent valuable presents, including pearls and precious stones, to this Kalinga king. In return he was able to get back the Tooth of the Buddha which had been taken to the Peninsula of India in former days. It is said that the Kalinga king was so much pleased with Mahāsēna that he sent back the relic under the charge of his son-in-law, Prince Danta.

¹ For a slightly different version of the story of Pattini, see *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I, 1915-16, pp. 29-37, 127-28.

THE SRĀMANYAPHALA-SŪTRA AND ITS DIFFERENT VERSIONS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By P. V. BAPAT

1. King Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru played such an important part in the early history of Buddhism that Buddhist literature would lose no opportunity of recording any important incident affecting the personal relations between the Buddha on the one hand and King Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru on the other. The friendly attitude of the famous Magadha king Bimbisāra towards Gautama Buddha is well known to students of Buddhist literature. The unfortunately unhappy relations between King Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru culminating in the imprisonment and murder of King Bimbisāra by his son Ajātaśatru, were not likely to favour a very friendly attitude of Ajātaśatru towards the Buddha, at any rate in the early years of the reign of King Ajātaśatru. But we have a record that these relations had later on improved to such an extent that King Ajātaśatru had thought it fit to approach the Buddha on one full-moon night to clear up certain doubts in his mind. The Pali literature has in the *Dīghanikāya*, vol. I, a sūtra (No. 2) which records such a visit on the part of Ajātaśatru. He asks the Buddha whether the holy life of a recluse has its reward or fruit in this very life, just as any professional man in this life expects to get a reward for his labour. The Buddha points out to him, by giving an ascending series of stages in the growth and development of a Buddhist saint, that such fruits are available. This visit of King Ajātaśatru to the Buddha's place of residence is recorded not only in the Pali sūtra mentioned above, but also in other versions of the same sūtra in Buddhist literature. While the main facts in these different versions are the same, there is a great amount of divergence in the different versions in several matters of details. It is proposed in this paper to take, only in an outline, a survey of this material and present to the scholars the data available.

2. There are three different versions of this sūtra in Chinese Buddhist literature (Nanjio's Catalogue Nos. 593, 543 and 545), one in Tibetan as can be seen from Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 95-106, and one in Sanskrit, only a fragment of which has been recently discovered and identified (see my paper on this subject, only a summary of which has so far been printed in the *Summaries of Papers presented to the XIVth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, part I, pp. 66-67*). One of these Chinese

translations consisting of only one fasciculus was made by Than-wu-lan whose name is translated as Fa-tsên, Law-correct. He translated several works in Chinese from A.D. 381-395. This translation comes very close to the Pali text, several expressions from which can be traced in this translation. Although this translation reveals a close similarity, it is to be noted that it is not identical with the Pali text as there are differences in several important details, especially with regard to the views held by the six famous heretical teachers often referred to in Buddhist texts as early contemporaries of Gautama Buddha. This is numbered 593 in Nanjio's Catalogue. The next, numbered 543 in the same catalogue, is translated by Dharmanandin in his translation of the Ekottarāgama (A.D. 384-85). This is an abridged version of the same sūtra, omitting the detailed enumeration of the various fruits of holy life. The last, numbered 545 in Nanjio's Catalogue, is translated by Dharmayaśas, with the help of Chu-fo-nien (A.D. 412-13) and is included in the Chinese translation of Dīrghāgama. The Tibetan version is included in the Vinayavastu (Dulva, iv. 405ff.) and a summary of the same is given in the 'Life of the Buddha' by Rockhill, pp. 95-106. There seems to be available a Sanskrit version also of the same sūtra in the Collection of Manuscripts in the possession of a military officer formerly stationed at Rawalpindi before the cessation of Pakistan from India. A fragment only came for identification to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. I have read and identified the same with a part of this very sūtra. It may probably be a part of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda Vinaya. Let us look more closely into the details of these versions.

3. The scene is described in the first of the Chinese versions mentioned above (Nanjio 593) to be opening on the full-moon day of the seventh month, when King Ajātaśatru is seen discussing with his ministers as to how they may beguile that night. Without specifying the names of the ministers, we are told that some suggested that they might while away that lovely night in merriment enjoying the pleasures of the senses, while others recommended the names of the six famous heretic teachers whom he might visit. The king noticed that Jīvaka, the physician of children, was silent. He asked him what he had to say in the matter. He recommended the name of Gautama Buddha. The king decided to go and with his large retinue started on his way to the place of the Buddha. On the way he suspected that perhaps Jīvaka was handing him over to his enemies, as he did not hear any noise or voice of the congregation of the Buddha which was 1,250 strong. He was, however, satisfied on the explanation of Jīvaka that the Buddha's teaching laid more emphasis on calmness and quietness in life. On seeing the Buddha and his disciples, he was more convinced about the same. There was a prince Pai-hsien by name

who expressed his desire to follow that kind of life. The king further asked the Buddha the question whether there was a reward or fruit, to be realized in this very life, for the holy life lived by an ascetic. Before answering the question, the Buddha asked the king whether he had put the same question to any other teacher, and if so, what was the answer that he got.

4. The king said that he had put the question to Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, who, instead of giving a straight answer to his question, expatiated on the doctrine of annihilation, saying that there was no father, no mother, no fruit of good or bad actions. The theories ascribed here to Pūrṇa are ascribed in the Pali text to Ajita Keśakambali. Next he gives his experience with Maskarin Gośāla (Moko-li Go-ye-lou) who very briefly explains that there is neither this world, nor the other, no effort on the part of oneself or others; people get happiness or sorrow without effort of any kind. This corresponds to Pali 'natthi attakāre natthi parakāre, natthi balaṃ natthi viriyaṃ, natthi purisathāmo natthi purisaparakkamo', which is only a part of the doctrines of Makkhali Gośāla. This is described by the king to be as irrelevant as 'putting a question about six and getting an answer about seven', or putting a question about a melon and getting an answer about a plum. The latter simile is found used in all the three versions and seems to correspond to Pali 'ambam puttḥo labujam byākreyya, labujam puttḥo ambam byākareyya'. Here only a part of the views of Makkhali Gośāla, according to the Pali version, is found, the other part being ascribed, according to this version, to Pakudha Kaccāyana. Next he proceeds to Ajita Keśakambali, who does not give any definite answer. His words show no orderliness. This corresponds to Pali 'vikkhepa' ascribed in the Pali text to Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta. Next comes the turn of Pakudha Kaccāyana who says that people are soiled or purified without any cause or reasons; there is no merit, no evil; there is no reward of good or bad actions. This view corresponds to the view of 'saṃsāra-suddhi' (purity through transmigration) ascribed by the Pali text to Makkhali Gośāla, and there is a Chinese expression which comes closer to this view of purity. Next is mentioned Sañjaya who is credited with the view that one may go on committing, either oneself or through others, sins like murder or wholesale massacres or thefts, still no evil consequences will come. So also one may go on giving charities, or doing meritorious actions, still there will be no merit coming from the same. This view is ascribed in the Pali text to Pūrṇa Kāśyapa. Lastly is mentioned Nirgrantha Jñātrputra who says that people in this world commit good or bad actions according to the views held by them. On account of love or craving in a previous life, they are born, grow old, or get diseased. If they are well-disposed towards the Path of Training, they may take to it after the birth of sons and grand-sons.

It is interesting to note that this totally differs from the four-fold restraint (cātuyāma saṃvara) of the Pali text, of which there is not the slightest trace.

5. The Buddha then goes on giving his own answer to the question of the king. The answer closely corresponds to the details given in the Pali text, the paragraphs about conduct, meditation and insight culminating into the knowledge of the destruction of the depravities (āsavā). Several expressions correspond to those in Pali such as, saddhādeyyāni bhojanāni bhuñjitvā, the similes used with reference to the obstacles (nīvaraṇāni) as well as the trances, the similes about taking the snake out of a basket or of the withdrawal of a sword from its sheath, and the expression sandiṭṭhi-kaṃ sāmāññaphalaṃ. Towards the end, however, the Chinese text differs. In it, the Buddha is represented as going with the Saṅgha to the palace of Ajātaśatru for food. The sūtra is concluded with stanzas corresponding to

Agnihotra-mukhā yajñā Sāvitrī Chandaso mukham
Rājā mukhaṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ nadīnāṃ sāgaro mukham
Nakṣatrāṇāṃ mukhaṃ Candra ādityas tapasāṃ mukham
(Cf. Sn. 568-69)
Ūrdhvaṃ tiryag adhaś cāpi yāvatī jagato gatiḥ
Sadevakeṣu lokeṣu Sambuddho hījyatām varaḥ.

These stanzas are, as I understand from the copy of Dr. N. Dutt's manuscript of the Vinayavastu (now in press), also found among Gilgit MSS.

6. The other version from the Ekottarāgama (Nanjio 543) is an abridged version. The Buddha was living in Rājagṛha with 1,250 mendicants, all Arhats with the exception of Ānanda. King Ajātaśatru was sitting with the ladies of his harem and ministers discussing how they should spend the lovely full-moon night of the seventh month. The ladies replied that they spend the night in the five pleasures of the senses enjoying themselves in the company of dancing girls. This idea did not appeal to the king. He then asked his son Udāyī what he had to say in that connection. He replied: 'It would be better to gather together the four-fold army and to make an assault on the hostile countries.' This also did not appeal to the king. Next Prince Abhaya was asked the same question, and he replied, 'There is, my Lord, Pūrṇa Kāśyapa, who is recognized as knowing heavenly things as well as earthly laws. People go to him and ask their difficulties. He may be shown honour and hospitality.' This also did not appeal to him. Next came the turn of the Minister (Mahāmātra) Su-ni-mo (is this Sunidha referred to elsewhere in Pali literature?) who suggested the names of Ajita Keśakambali. The king did not approve of the same. Next he asked the Brahman P'o-sa (is this Vassakāra also referred to elsewhere

in Pali?) who pleaded for Kiu-ye-lo (Gosāla), which name also the king did not like. Next comes the Brahman Mo-t'ê who referred to Pakudha Kātyāyana, who met the same fate. Next So-mo (Soma), the Army-Chief, suggests Sañjaya Belatthiputta who fared no better. Further, he asks the most distinguished of his ministers (whose name is not mentioned) who recommends the name of Nirgrantha Jñātrputra. That also the king did not like. Finally, Prince Jivaka suggested the name of Gautama Buddha. Then follow some stanzas giving the discussion between Jivaka and the king regarding the advisability of his visit, especially when he had killed his father Bimbisāra, a true follower of the Buddha. The king at last yields. He starts to go to the Buddha but on the way he entertains the same suspicion, as mentioned in the last Chinese text, about Jivaka. Jivaka mentions the importance attached by the Buddha and his followers to the samādhi. The king asks Jivaka; 'Why is it that the Buddha has such an effulgence of light?' 'Because of the power of samādhi' 'Let my son Udāyī have similar calm and peace', observes the king. Then he meets the Buddha with whom the same discussion takes place as mentioned in the previous text. The views ascribed in this text to the various heretic teachers do not agree with those in Pali or in the other two Chinese versions. To Pūrṇa Kāśyapa are ascribed the views that there is no merit, no charity, no fruit or reward of good or bad actions, no Arhats; there is neither this world nor the other. These are the views ascribed to Ajita Keśakambali in Pali, while the views ascribed to Pūrṇa in Pali are partly ascribed to Ajita Keśakambali and partly to Gosāla. To Pakudha Kaccāyana is ascribed the view that a man goes out of the world, dies, is reborn and suffers from his sorrow or enjoys his happiness. This does not seem to be agreeing with any of the views mentioned in the Pali text. So also the view ascribed in this text to Sañjaya that the past means that which has disappeared and is not coming to birth again; the future is that which has not come and so does not exist; the present is that which does not stay but easily changes. Lastly, the views of Makkhali Gosāla are ascribed here to Nirgrantha. No mention of Cātuyāma-samvara here also. After discussing the views of these heretic teachers, the Buddha mentions that a person begins to observe the rules of good conduct in their perfect form with no transgression. This text omits all the intermediate stages of meditation (samādhi) and insight (prajñā) and says that when he reaches the final stage of anupādiṣeṣa-nirvāṇa-dhātu, he becomes divine and is no longer human. The king agrees that he becomes worthy to have a shrine built over his head. The sūtra ends with the king's confession of his sin in killing his father and on his expressing his regret gets absolved of his sin. We meet with an expression that if the king had not murdered his father, he would

have attained on the same day the *first* fruit of holy life. There is no mention, in this version, of the Buddha's going to the palace of the king for food.

7. The last Chinese version (Nanjio No. 545) is sūtra No. 27 of the *Dirghāgama*. This version also mentions the names of the king's ministers or officers who suggest to the king the names of the heretic teachers. First, the Brahman Yu-se (perhaps the same as P'u-sa, Vāssakāra, of Nanjio 543) recommends Pūrṇa ; Su-nī-t'o, the younger brother of Yu-se, evidently the same as Sunidha, suggests Makkhali Gosāla ; the Mahāmātra Tien-tso (?) that of Ajita Keśakambali ; General Kāḷa-Sumana (Kia-lo-su-men) that of Pakudha Kaccāyana ; Prince Udāyī that of Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta ; and Prince Abhaya that of Nirgrantha. Jīvaka, of course, recommends the name of Gautama Buddha. The names of these teachers, as given in this version, are all fully transcribed as against those in versions mentioned above, especially the first. The views of Pūrṇa are the same as in Pali, but those of Makkhali Gosāla correspond to a part of those of Ajita Keśakambali as per Pali text, while with another part of Ajita's views in Pali agree the views of Ajita in this version. The view, that people get soiled or purified without any cause or reason, that there is no effort on the part of oneself or others, ascribed in Pali to Makkhali, are ascribed here to Pakudha Kātyāyana. The views of Sañjaya are the same as in Pali, but those of Nirgrantha are again quite different. He is described here as claiming to be omniscient, knowing all things without exception and seeing all things ; he knows them as perfectly as one would know things in one's presence. Again, here also, there is no trace of *cātuyāma-samvara*. Corresponding to the paragraphs showing the fruits of holy life, we have those mentioning the first two fruits. Then this version jumps to the end mentioning the three Vidyās, Nirvāṇa and the insight of the destruction of the depravities (*āsavā*). The king then requests the Buddha to forgive him his crime of the murder of his father. He becomes an upāsaka and invites the Buddha for the next day's meal. The Buddha was silent but the king knew from his silence that he agreed. The king departed. The Buddha remarked that the king would have attained religious insight (*dhamma-cakkhu*) on that very seat, if he had not murdered his father. The Buddha, on the next day, goes to the king's palace for meal. Again the king repeatedly asks his crime to be condoned. On being forgiven, he took his seat in front of the Buddha and again declared that he had become an upāsaka by taking the three refuges of the Buddha, his Law and his Order of mendicants.

8. A brief summary of the Tibetan version is given in the 'Life of the Buddha' by Rockhill, pp. 95-106, from which it is seen that the views ascribed there to the six heretic teachers do not entirely agree with those expressed in any of these versions. A

comparative table of the views ascribed to various teachers in all these versions is appended at the end. Rockhill does not give us any idea of the latter part of the sūtra, which perhaps we may get from the original Tibetan version.

9. The fragment of the Sanskrit text is too small to give us any idea of the full text. But the fragment makes it quite clear that it belongs to the Sanskrit version of the same sūtra. We read twice the expression *sāndṛṣṭikam śrāmaṇya-phalam* in the mutilated passage describing the condition of a person who is free from hindrances and of one who has attained the trances. This fragment is being given in full in a photographic plate along with a paper on the same in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, vol. XXIX, 1948. When the whole Sanskrit text becomes available, it will be of great help.

10. Thus it will be seen that all the principal versions agree in the main with one another with regard to the historical fact of the visit of King Ajātaśatru to the Buddha and of the former's becoming an upāsaka of the latter after having expressed his repentance for the serious offence of the murder of his father, Bimbisāra. Pali and Chinese texts agree on the teaching of the Buddha, though some give only an abbreviated version. On non-essential matters about suggesting the names or the views of the six heretical teachers, all differ from each other, showing that the tradition about the same was soon forgotten. Only the theories were known and as time passed on, they came to be indiscriminately ascribed to various teachers.

APPENDIX.

82 A Table showing the various philosophical views ascribed to different teachers by the various versions of the Sāmaññaphala-sutta.

| The philosophical views. | Pali. | Chin. 1. (Nanjio 593). | Chin. 2. (Nanjio 543). | Chin. 3. (Nanjio 545). | Tib. | Sans. |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|----------------------------|
| Karoto kārayato...natthi pāpam... natthi puññaṃ, natthi puññas- sāgama. (= akriyāvāda, non-action.) Ahetu appaccayā satā sauklis- santi, visujjanti, sandhāvītā dukkhassa antaṃ karissanti (saṃsāra-śuddhi). Natthi attakāre, purisakāre, natthi balam natthi viriyam. (= Fatality.) Natthi dīnaṃ, natthi.....hutaṃ, natthi samapabrāhmaṇā, Cātum mahābhūṭiko ayaṃ kāyokāyassa bhedā uccijjanti. (= ucchedāvāda, annihilation.) Satta kāyā akatā.....kūṭattā, na ijjanti, na koci kiñci jīvītā voropeti. (= eternity of seven substances.) | 1 Pūraṇa Kassapa. 2 Makkhali. " 3 Ajita. " 4 Pakudha. | 5 Sañjaya. 4 Pakudha- Kātyāyana. 2 Makkhali. 1 Pūrpa. " | 2 Ajita (partly). 3 Makkhali (partly). 6 Nirgrantha. 1 Pūrpa. " 4 Pakudha 4 'One dies, is re- born, and meets happiness or sorrow (as per actions).' | 1 Pūrpa. 4 Pakudha. " 3 Ajita. | 3 Sañjaya. 4 Ajita (in part). 2 Makkhali. 1 Pūrpa. " 4 Ajita (in part). | |
| Sabbavāri-vācīto " yutto .. " dhuto .. " phuttho .. (= Cātuyāma-saṃvara, four-fold restraint.) Evaṃ pi me no, tathā ti pi me no, no ti pi me no, no xo ti pi me no. (= vikkhepa, delusion.) | 5 Nigāṇṭha (Nirgrantha). 6 Sañjaya. | 6 Present ills due to past actions (Nirgrantha). 3 Ajita. | | 6 'I am all-knowing, all-seeing....' (Nirgrantha). 5 Sañjaya. | 5 All deeds— results of previous karma to be wiped out by penance (Nirgrantha). 6 Pakudha (most stupid and hy- pocritical). | Details not yet available. |

(N.B.—The numbers preceding the names or views in each column show the order of their mention in the version concerned.)

ANCIENT INDIAN FLORA

By B. C. LAW

INTRODUCTION

India is a land of abundant crops, fruits and flowers, roots and shrubs. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes says that the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually. The fruits of spontaneous growth and esculent roots, which grow in marshes and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. He further says that almost all the plains in the country have a genial moisture whether it is derived from the rivers or the rains of the summer season, which fall annually and regularly at a stated period. The prevailing great heat of the country ripens the roots growing in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.¹ Arbori-horticulture was in an advanced state in ancient India as far as can be gathered from Indian literature. The main food grains used and cultivated from Vedic times comprised varieties of paddy (*dhānya*, *vrihi*), barley (*yava*) and wheat (*godhūma*). The pulses mainly consisted of beans (*kulmāṣa*), *māṣkalāya* (*khalakula*), *mug* (*khalva*, *mudga*), lentil (*masūra*) and wild beans (*garmut*). The oil in common use was that prepared from sesamum seeds (*tila-taila*). It was generally stored in earthen jars and cultivated along with beans in winter season. Onion, garlic, cardamom, *sarṣapa*, red pepper, turmeric and ginger were in use as spices and condiments. The ingredients of soures and acids were such fruits as *mātulūṅga*, *kola* or *vadara* (plum), citron, lemon, tamarind, mango and hogplum, and such leaves as those of *Oxalis* and *Rumex*.¹ The list of typical fruits might be made of the varieties of mango, jack-fruit, pineapple, banana, orange, grape, date, palmyra, cocoanut and plum.

Vṛkṣa is the term for tree in the *Rgveda*² and the *Atharvaveda*.³ It denotes the coffin made from a tree.⁴ There is a reference to the portent of a tree secreting blood.⁵ That *druma* is used in the sense of tree is not found until a later period in the *Śaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (V. 11) and the *Nirukti* (iv. 19; v. 26).⁶

Buddhaghosa in his *Visuddhimagga* (p. 183) mentions some of the trees and classifies them under high (*ucca*), low (*nīca*), small (*khuddaka*), big (*mahata*), black (*kāla*), and white (*seta*). Such

¹ McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 31.

² *Rg.*, I. 164, 20, 22; II. 14. 2; IV. 20. 5; V. 78. 6, etc.

³ *Atharva*, I. 14. 1; II. 12. 3; VI. 45. 1; XII. 1. 27, 51, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVIII. 2. 25.

⁵ *Vedic Index*, II, 319.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 384.

trees as *nāgarukkha* and *dīparukkha* are mentioned in the Pali texts and commentaries.¹ An ornamental plant called *mālāvaccha* finds mention in them.² Poison trees (*visarukkha*) are referred to in the Buddhist *Jātakas*.³ If their fruits are eaten, people meet with their death. But the poison can be removed by taking some medicine causing vomiting (*vamāpetvā*) and eating four sweet foods.⁴

The *Rāmāyana* tells us that Rāma saw in the forest, where he killed the female demon Tāḍakā, the following trees: *dhava*, *aśvakarṇa*, *arjuna*, *pāṭalī*, *badarī*, *tinduka*, and *vilva*.⁵ After leaving the hermitage of Bharadvāja he crossed the Jumna and saw a banyan tree. Then he saw a forest full of *sallakī* and *badarī* trees.⁶ He told Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, who accompanied him, 'Look at the *kiṃśuka* trees in spring with their flowers. The *bhallātaka* and *vilva* trees stand there uncared for. They are bent down on account of their fruits and flowers.'⁷ While staying on the Citrakūṭa mountain Rāma noticed the following trees: *āmra*, *jambū*, *lodhra*, *pītasāla*, *piyāla*, *panasa*, *dhava*, *karmaraṅga*, *tinīśa*, *tinduka*, *vilva*, *venu*, *nimba*, *sāla*, *madhuka*, *tilaka*, *badarī*, *āmalakī*, *kadamba*, *dāḍimba*, *betra*, *indrayava*, and *gāmbhārī*.⁸ He dwelt in a leaf-hut in a forest with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, which was covered with *sāla*, *tāla* and *aśvakarṇa* as found out by Bharata.⁹ In the Pañcavaṭī forest the following plants and creepers were noticed by Rāmachandra: *sāla*, *tāla*, *tamāla*, *kharjura*, *panasa*, *tinīśa*, *nivāra*, *punnāga*, *āmra*, *aśoka*, *tilaka*, *ketaka*, *campaka*, *candana*, *nīpa*, *lakuca*, *aśvakarṇa*, *khadira*, *samī*, *pāṭala*, *kiṃśuka*, *dhava*, and *syandana*.¹⁰ The wood of the *khadira* tree was used in making the sacrificial post in the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice performed by King Daśaratha.¹¹ The country to the west of Pampā had the following plants as seen by him: *jambū*, *piyāla*, *panasa*, *baṭa*, *plakṣa*, *tinduka*, *aśvattha*, *karnīkāra*, *dhava*, *āmra*, *nāga-keśara*, *tilaka*, *nīla*, *aśoka*, *kadamba*, *karavīra*, *karañja*, *pārijāta*, red *aśoka*, red *candana*, white and blue lotuses.¹²

It is interesting to note that Sītā, the beloved wife of Rāmachandra, lived under a *śimsapā* tree [a timber tree; vide also *Mahābhārata*, 3. 158. 44-52 where it is mentioned along with *kiṃśuka*, *sālmālī*, *pāṭala*, *kūṭaja*, *aśoka*, etc.] while in Lañkā. This tree may be identified with *śīśu*, so well known to Bengal. *Śīśu* is of three

¹ *Jātaka*, I. 35; *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. II, v. 216; *Dhammapada Commentary*, IV. 120.

² *Vinaya*, II. 12; *Visuddhimagga*, 172, 174.

³ *Jātaka*, I. 271.

⁴ *Phala Jātaka*, *Jātaka* No. 54.

⁵ *Baṅgavāsī* Ed., 24th Sarga, *Ādikāṇḍa*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 55th Sarga, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 56th Sarga, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*.

⁸ *Rāmāyana*, *Baṅgavāsī* Ed., 94th chap., *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Baṅgavāsī* Ed., 99th chap., *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15th chap., *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, 14th chap.

¹² *Ibid.*, 37th chap., *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*.

kinds—white, black, and yellow—and they can be differentiated by their leaves. It is bitter in taste and it helps us to cure cough and wind. It removes fever, vomiting, etc.¹ Rāma saw the beautiful forests attached to the Sahya and Malaya mountains, while on his way to Laṅkā to recover Sītā from the clutches of its tyrant king Rāvana. The monkeys who accompanied him destroyed the following plants existing there: *campaka*, *tilaka*, *cūta*, *aśoka*, *sindhuvāra*, *tiniśa*, *karavīra*, *aṅkola*, *plakṣa*, *baṭa*, *tinduka*, *jambū*, *karañja*, and *punnāga*. Of them the undernoted plants were full of flowers: *ketakī*, *sindhuvāra*, *navamallikā*, *kunda*, *madhuka*, *mādhavī*, *rañjaka*, *vilva*, *tilaka*, *sthalapadma*, *vakula*, *pāṭalī*, *nāgeśvara*, *cūta*, *mucūlinda*, *simśapa*, *arjuna*, *girimallikā*, *hintāla*, *cūrṇaka*, *aṅkola*, *nīpaka*, red *kāñcana*, and *padma*.²

At Rāma's behest many important monkeys entered the great forest of Laṅkā and destroyed the following plants which were thrown into the sea: *śāla*, *aśvakarna*, *dhava*, *kūṭaja*, *tāla*, *tilaka*, *tiniśa*, *vilva*, *cūta*, *saptaparna*, *karnikāra*, and *aśoka*.³ The mighty monkeys who were the leaders saw a beautiful forest in Laṅkā having the following trees: *campaka*, *aśoka*, *vakula*, *śāla*, *tāla*, *tamāla*, *panasa*, *nāgakeśara*, *hintāla*, *arjuna*, *kadamba*, *tilaka*, *karnikāra*, and *palāśa*.⁴ The *Rāmāyana*⁵ refers to *ślesmātaka* tree, the wood of which was used in making a sacrificial post. Among the trees listed above many are generally found in forests. The *Rāmāyana* makes mention of them only without any description. The details of some of the important plants and creepers mentioned by the Epic are given later.

The *Mahābhārata* contains a long list of trees, flowers, and fruits, many of which are common to those mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*. But the following plants are new and worth mentioning: *muñjātaka*, *āmlavetasa*, *viṣapūraka*, *pārāvata*, *kṣīrikā*, *inguda*, *pārijāta*, *pilu*, and *raupītaka*.⁶ But unfortunately no details of these trees can be had from the Epic.

In the Raivataka forest Balarāma, brother of Kriṣṇa, saw the following trees: *āmra* (mango), *āmrātaka*, *cocanut*, *tinduka* (*gāva*), *vilva*, *jīvaka*, *pomegranate* (*dārimba*), *viṣapuraka* (a kind of citron), *kadamba*, *pārāvata* (guava), *kaṅkola*, *nālina*, *āmlavetasa*, *bhallātaka*, *āmalaka*, *harītaka*, *vibhītaka*, *inguda*, *karamarda*, *aśoka*, *punnāga*, *ketakī*, *vakula*, *campaka*, *saptaparna*, *karnikāra*, *pārijāta*, *kovidāra*, *mandāra*, *vaḍara*, *pāṭala*, *devadāru*, *śāla*, *tāla*, *tamāla*, and *kiṃśuka*.⁷

¹ *Rājanighaṇṭu*, 9th chap.

² *Rāmāyana*, Bāṅgavāsī Ed., 4th chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

³ *Ibid.*, 22nd chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 39th chap., Laṅkākāṇḍa.

⁵ Canto XIII, Griffith's tr., p. 25.

⁶ 3. 158. 44-53; 3. 40. 2-5; 3. 177. 23.

⁷ *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 6th chap., II-19.

In the lakes in the Raivataka forest there were lotuses in blossoms, blue lotuses, etc.¹

Godhuma, *anu*, *tila*, *priyangu*, *udāra*, *koradūṣa*, *cīnaka*, *māṣa*, *mudga*, *masūra*, *kulattha*, *āḍaka*, and *caṇaka* are considered as medicines in villages.²

The branches of banyan, fig, *aśvattha*, *campaka*, *aśoka*, *palāsa*, *arjuna*, *plakṣa*, *kadamba*, *vakula*, and *āmra* are used in religious ceremonies.³ The barks of these plants along with those of *samī* and *śirīsa* should be put on a pot in a religious ceremony.⁴

The following are recognized as medicinal plants which help to cure diseases: *harītaki*, *vaca*, *nimbaka*, *sātamūli*, *vilva*, *punarnavā*, etc.⁵

The *Agñīpurāṇa*⁶ narrates the remedies for the various diseases. *Vilva* is good for rheumatism; *āmalakī*, *abhayā*, *kriṣṇā* for fever; *vilva*, *agñīmantha*, *kanṭakārīkā* for fever at its earliest stage; *devadāru*, *triphalā*, *padma*, *daśamūli*, *pippalī*, *vilva*, *āmalakī* for cough, bowel complaint, and the disease relating to lungs, etc.; *baṭa*, *lodhra*, *madhuka*, if taken with sweet rice water, for cold; *vākasa* for cold and cough.⁷ *Paṭola*, *triphalā*, *nimba*, and *karañca*, if used with cooked ghee or clarified butter, are good for leprosy.⁸ *Pippalī*, the *pippalī* root and *vaca* help to cure eruptions on the body due to indigestion; *punarnavā* and *eraṇḍa* are good for rheumatism; *bidāṅga*, *dāru*, etc. cure dropsy; *triphalā*, *trikūṭa*, and *saṃdhava*, if taken with cooked ghee (clarified butter), are good for eye-trouble. *Yava* acts as purgative.⁹

The *Garuḍa Purāṇa*¹⁰ mentions the utility of some plants in curing diseases. *Yava* improves biliary system; *godhūma* gives strength; *kulattha* removes wind and gives relief to those suffering from cough, indigestion, etc.; *citraka*, *īṅgudī*, lotus, *pippala*, *nīsindā*, and *vilva* cure worms, bile, and cough; and *mātulūṅga* (*goḍālebu* in Bengali) improves appetite. In chapter 173 of the same *Purāṇa* we find a list of plants and flowers, etc., and their usefulness in curing disease.

The Great Maurya Emperor Aśoka caused the medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beasts to be imported and planted in all places where they did not exist. He also caused the roots and fruits to be imported and planted. On the roads trees were caused to be planted for the enjoyment of men and beasts.¹¹ In order to render medicinal treatment to men and beasts it may be presumed that the Great Emperor had to cultivate medicinal plants for the supply of

¹ *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 6th chap., 20-21.

² *Agñīpurāṇa*, 57th chap., 9-14.

³ *Ibid.*, 141st chap., 11-16.

⁴ 1-18.

⁵ 19-30.

⁶ (Ed. Rasikmohan Chatterjee), 169th chap., 4-22.

⁷ R.E. II.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 49th chap., 61-69.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 69th chap., 5-23.

¹⁰ 285th chap.

¹¹ 63-77.

medicines (*manusa-cikicchā ca pasucikicchā ca osudhāni ca yāni manusopagāni ca pasopagāni ca yata yata nāsti sarvatrā hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca mūlāni ca phalāni ca yata yata nāsti sarvata hārāpitāni ca ropāpitāni ca paṁthesū vrachā ca ropāpitā paribhogāya pasumanusānam*).

One of the Theravāda canonical texts says that mighty trees are grown from tiny seeds. They are of mighty bulk which overspread other trees, by which being overspread these trees break up, break down, fall to the ground, and so lie. The mighty trees according to it are the following: bo (*assattha*), banyan (*nigrodha*), wave-leaved fig (*pilakkha*), bunched fig (*udumbara*), wood-apple (*kapitthaka*) and another kind of fig tree (*kacchaka*) (*Seyyathidam assattho nigrodho pilakkho udumbaro kacchako kapitthako. Ime kho te bhikkhave maharukkha anubijā mahākāyā rukkhānam ajjhāruḥhā ye hi rukkhā ajjhāruḥhā obhaggavibhaggā vipatitā senti*).¹ Of these trees, *assattha* is the Bo tree.² The *Jātaka Nidānakathā* represents the entire site of the Bo tree as a sombre woodland.³ Siddhārtha went round the Bo terrace and drank the rice gruel at the foot of this tree. In the *Lalitavistara*⁴ we read that this tree stood in the centre lording over the sylvan kingdom. According to the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* Siddhārtha spent the first week under the shade of the Bo tree. He spent the second week looking at his seat under the tree. The third week was spent at the space between the tree and the *animisa* (watchful) walking. He spent the fourth week on a ground north-west of the Bo tree. He obtained supreme enlightenment at the foot of this tree.⁵ The two tracts of Gayā and Uruvelā became distinct as two separate places representing the dominion of *Akṣaya-vāta* or the undying Banyan tree and that of the Bo tree of the Buddhist fame. The Bo terrace was a small silver white sandy ridge around the Bo tree with a radius of eight *karīṣas*⁶ and without a single blade of grass growing on it. It was encircled by the creepers and surrounded by grassy woodland with the trees leaning all towards the Bo tree standing in the centre.⁷ Siddhārtha sat down under the Bo tree cross-legged, with his face towards the east, determining to do or die till he attained his goal. Even on his death-

¹ *Samyutta*, V. 96; *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, V. 80.

² *Jātaka*, I. 16; *Vin.*, IV. 35; *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, II. 416.

³ *Jātaka*, I. 16, 70.

⁴ Mitra's edition, p. 341.

⁵ *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 202; cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. XXVI.

⁶ A square measure of land being that space on which a *Karisa* of seed can be sown. Pali *Karisa* = *Karṣa* in Sanskrit. One *Karisa* is equivalent to four *ammanas*. One *ammaṇa* is equal to four *Karīsas*. One *Karisa* is equal to eighty *Kṛṣṇalas*, i.e. 140 grams (vide for further details, B. C. Law, *Buddhist Studies*, p. 426).

⁷ *Kāḷīṅgabodhi Jātaka* No. 479: *Tadā kira tattha rājakarīsamatatthāne* (better reading *aṭṭhakarisa matte ṭhāne*) *sasakamassumattam pi tiṇam nāma n'atthi, rajata-paṭṭavannavālukā vipakinnā va hoti, samantā tiṇalatāvanaspatiyo Bodhimandaṃ padakkhinam katvā āvattitvā bodhimandaḍḍhimukhā va aṭṭhamsu* (*Jātaka*, IV. 233).

bed at Kuśinārā, he referred to the spot of the Bo tree as one of the four memorable places worth seeing by a man of faith for inspiration.

It is difficult to believe that the Bo tree at Bodh-Gayā managed to live for twelve centuries that passed between the enlightenment of the Buddha and the reign of Śaśāṅka of Bengal.

The Banyan and Bo trees are the two well-known species of the Indian *Ficus*. The Bo tree is figured in ancient Indian literature as a sacred symbol of life and its growth. The Bo tree of the Bodh-Gayā excels all other trees in sanctity. It is regarded by the Buddhists as the pre-eminent object of worship. In the Mahāpadāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya the Bo trees of seven Buddhas including the Bo tree of the last Buddha are mentioned. The *Jātaka Nidānakathā* gives an exaggerated description of the Bo tree that it had the miraculous power to touch the farthest reach of the horizon when it moved to the east or to the west or to the north or to the south. A branch of the Bo tree was sent by King Aśoka for planting on the soil of Ceylon.

The bark of this tree is useful to those suffering from rheumatism. It is also used for curing boils, cuts, etc.

Near the Bo tree stood the Banyan (*Nigrodha*), the *Rājāyatana* tree and the *Mucalinda* tree growing on the bank of the Mucalinda lake, all associated with the memories of movements and joyous ponderings of the Buddha.¹ We learn from the Minor Pillar Edict I of Aśoka (Sarnath Edict) that the Bo tree sanctuary was not a fit place for the Buddhist church (*saṅgha*).

Nigrodha (*nyagrodha*) is the banyan tree.² There was a banyan tree in the Nāga island where the Garuḍa king lived. A king of Benares lost his beautiful queen Sussonḍī, who was afterwards found out by the king's minstrel named Sagga, who came to the island, being shipwrecked, lying on a plank. Sussonḍī then recognized him.³ A banyan tree is proportionately symmetrical. The belief was that a banyan always measured like the diameter of a circle in height and in width. In other words, the length of its body is equal to the compass of its branches, and the compass of its branches is equal to the height of the tree.⁴ A banyan tree grows on the slopes of the Himalayas (*Himavantapasse*).⁵ Snakes lie in the fork of this tree.⁶ In the north-west corner of the lake Chaddanta in a spot grew a big banyan tree. Its trunk was five leagues in circumference and seven leagues in height. Four branches spread six leagues to the four points of the compass, and the branch

¹ Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, p. 165.

² *Vinaya*, IV. 35; *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Suttanipāta*, 272.

³ *Jātaka*, III. 187-88.

⁴ *Dīgha*, III. 18; *Dialogues of the Buddhas*, S.B.B., III, Pt. II, 15; cf. *Lakkhaṇa Suttanta*, *Dīgha*, III. 144.

⁵ *Jātaka*, I. 218.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 202-3.

which rose straight upwards was six leagues. So from the root upwards it was thirteen leagues in height, and from the extremity of the branches in one direction to the extremity of the branches in the opposite direction, it was twelve leagues. The tree was furnished with eight thousand shoots and stood forth in all its beauty.¹ This tree sends down from its branches fibres which take root and form new stems. There stood a big banyan (*nyagrodha*) tree in Benares on the banks of the river Varanā, which used to fulfil others' wish. A childless banker, who was not blessed with child even after performing many sacrifices, came with his wife to this tree praying for a son. His prayer was granted and later he had a son named Yasoda.² On the banks of the river Nairañjanā, at Senāpatigrāma in Uruvilva, there existed a banyan tree of Ajapāla, which was visited by the Buddha.³ While the Buddha was staying there, the chief Brahmin priest of King Bimbisāra used to repeat to him in details every morning the thirty-two signs of a great man.⁴

The banyan tree is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*,⁵ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁷ *Chāndogya-upaniṣad*⁸ and other later works. Its wood was used in making bowls for religious purposes.⁹

According to Śūsruta, *nyagrodha* (banyan), *udumbara* (*yagnādumura* in Bengali), *āsvattha*, *śirīsa*, and *plakṣa* (*pākṣa* in Bengali) are known as *khīra* trees ('*nyagrodho dūmburohaśvatthasirīsa plakṣa pādapāḥ, pañcaite khīriṇo vrikṣāsteṣāṃ tvak-pakṣalakkhaṇam*').

The Jain texts refer to many kinds of grains, e.g., *vīhi* (rice), *yava* (barley), *godhūma* (wheat), *piyaṅgu* (panic seed), *ādhaki* (pulse), *atasi* (linseed), *kaṅgu* (millet), *sarīsa* (mustard), and *palimanthaka*.¹⁰ *Sīṅgavera* (fresh ginger), *lavaṅga*, *hariḍrā* (turmeric), *pippala* (pepper), and *sarivatthaga* (mustard) find mention in Jain literature. Sugarcane cultivation was extensively carried on according to the Jain texts which refer to *ucchughara* (sugarcane storehouse), and *janta-pīḷana* (sugarcane-crushing machine).¹¹ *Kappāsa* (silk cotton) and *sālmālī* trees were very much known.¹² Betel, arecanut, cucumber, onion, garlic, and gourd are referred to in the Jain texts.¹³ Among the creepers, flowers, trees, and fruits known to the ancient Jains

¹ *Jātaka*, V. 38.

² *Mahāvastu*, II. 402.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 425.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 436-437.

⁵ IV. 37. 4; V. 5. 5.

⁶ VII. 30. 31.

⁷ V. 3. 5. 13; XIII. 2. 7. 3.

⁸ VI. 12. 1.

⁹ *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, vii. 4, 12, 1; *Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā*, XXIII. 13; *Vedic Index*, I. 462.

¹⁰ *Pañṇavaṇā*, I. 23-40; *Bhagavatī*, 21. 2; 21. 3.

¹¹ *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra Commentary*, 2, p. 23.

¹² *Pañṇavaṇā*, I. 23, 36; *Uttarādhyayana*, 19, 52.

¹³ *Uvāsagadasāo*, I. 9; *Pañṇavaṇā*, I. 23, 36, 18, 26ff., 43ff.; *Nāyādharmakahāo*, 16. 163.

the following may be mentioned: *asoga*, *vāsantī*, *cūya*, *aimuttaya*, *sāma*, *navamālikā*, *korantaka*, *bandhujīvaka*, *yuthikā*, *mallikā*, *campaka*, *kunda*, *miḡadantikā*, *mahu*, *nimba*, *amba*, *jambu*, *sāla*, *vakula*, *palāsa*, *puttanjīva*, *vibhītaka*, *tinduka*, *kapittha*, *mātulinga*, *vilva*, *āmalaga*, *assattha*, *udumbara*, *tilaka*, *sirīsa*, *loddha*, *candana*, *ajjuna*, and *simsapā*.¹

Indian literature mentions various kinds of trees, plants, shrubs, fruits, flowers, etc., arranged in an alphabetical order in the following pages. An attempt has been made to elicit information regarding them as far as available from the literature concerned. It mentions many medicinal plants, water plants, royal trees (*rājārukkhā*),² and fragrant grass (*bīraṇam*).³ It refers to trees the flowers of which have the colour of collyrium (*añjana*).⁴ Five kinds of leaves (*pañṇā*) recommended for medicinal purposes, namely, *nimba*, *kuṭaja*, *paṭola*,⁵ *sulasi* or *tulasi*, and *kappāsika* are mentioned in the *Vinayapitaka*.⁶ There are trees which cannot be identified such as *somarukkha*.⁷ In the sixth century B.C. India saw several groves of *añjana* (name of a tree, 'black tree', *Jāt.*, I. 331), *amba* (mango) and *sāla* at Upavattana and Kusinārā.⁸

Agalu (*Aggalu*, Sk. *Aguru*) (*Aquilaria Agallocha*, Roxb.)—Fragrant aloe wood (VVA. 237; cf. *agalucandana*, VVA. 158).

Agñimantha.—See Introduction.

Ajjuka (Sk. *Arjaka*).—Name of a plant (*Ocimum Basilicum*, Linn.). *Vinaya*, IV. 35; *DhA.*, 181.

Ajjukarṇa (Sk. *Arjakarṇa*).—Name of a tree (*Pentaptera tomentosa*) which existed in the hermitage of Vessantara (*Jātaka*, VI. 535).

Ajjuna (*Apadāna*, II. 346; *Jātaka*, VI. 535; *DhA.*, I. 105) (*Terminalia Arjuna*).—Its bark improves the action of the heart and cures wound, boil, etc. (*Bhāvaprakāśa*).

Akka (Sk. *Arka*).—Name of a plant (*Calotropis gigantea*); *Majjhima*, I. 429. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (VI. 72. 1).

Alaka.—Name of a plant (*Morinda citrifolia*). It is mentioned in the *Apadāna*.

Alābu (*Jātaka*, VI. 578).—It is a long white gourd (*Cucurbeta lagenaria*; *Lagenaria vulgaris* according to some). It is an indigenous plant. It is bottle gourd. The vessels made of it are referred to in the *Atharvaveda* (VIII. 10. 29; XX. 132. 1. 2).

¹ *Rāyapasenaiya*, 3, p. 18; *Paṇṇavanā*, I. 23, 23-5; *Āvassayacunni*, II. 319; *Paṇṇavanā*, I. 23, 12 ff., 35 ff.; *Rāyapasenaiya*, 3, p. 12; J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp. 91, 93 and 95.

² *Cathartocarpus fistula*, VvA., 43.

⁴ *Sāratthappakāsinī*, III. 247.

⁵ *Vinaya Texts* (SBE), II. 46.

³ *Andropogon Muricatum*.

⁵ *Trichosanthes dioica*.

⁷ *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

⁸ *Sam.*, I. 54; V. 73; *Dīgha*, I. 47, 49; *Sam.*, I. 157; IV. 121; *Dīgha*, II. 134, 137; *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell and Neil), 201, 208.

Amba (*Mangifera indica*, Linn.) is the mango tree.¹ It is shady having many leaves. It looks like a hill crevice. Its fruits are sweet and are of divine fragrance. They are large in size. They are available out of season.² There are certain mango trees which always bear fruits.³

A gardener at the city gate at Sāvattthī (Śrāvastī) gave a big sized ripe mango to the Blessed One who ate it and asked Ānanda to hand over the seed to the gardener to plant it there. The gardener dug a hole in the earth and planted it. There grew up a mango tree which came to be called *Gaṇḍamba*.⁴

A seed of a mango fruit was planted in a park and was watered with milk-water. The tree sprouted up and gave fruits on the third year. The fruit was sweet and was of gold colour.⁵ The mango tree, on account of its branches being entangled with a *Nimba* tree planted near about it, gave bitter fruits.⁶

A female lay disciple obtained the Buddha's permission to build a hermitage and to offer it to him. She built a beautiful hermitage with groves of mango trees all round. It was a very beautiful place to live in.⁷ There existed a mango-grove known as the *Jīvaka-ambavana*. Jīvaka, the great physician of King Bimbisāra of Magadha, converted it into a *vihāra* and gave it to the Buddha and his Order. This grove stood somewhere between the Gijjhakūṭa mountain⁸ and the wall of the city of Rājagriha.⁹

Ambātaka (*Spondias mangifera*, Willd.) is Āmḍā (hogplum) found in Bengal. Ambātakas are eaten after removing the skin.¹⁰

Anu.—See Introduction. *Panicum miliaceum*, Eigen.

Añjana.—Black tree.¹¹

Aṅkola (*Alangium Lamarckii*, Linn.).—A thorny plant; flowers during hot season. Round the Mucalinda lake stood this tree.¹²

Apphoṭa.—A kind of Jasmin (*Jātaka*, VI. 536).

Arjuna.—Same as *Ajjuna*. See Introduction. *Terminalia Arjuna*, Bead.

Asana.—(*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb.¹³).

¹ *Digha*, I. 46, 53; *Puggalapaññatti*, 45; *Milinda*, 46; *Petavatthu Commentary*, 153, 187; *Dhammapada Commentary*, III. 207; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 198.

² *Jātaka*, III. 27ff.; IV. 202.

³ *Ibid.*, III. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 264-265.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 104.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 104-105.

⁷ *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, p. 198.

⁸ One of the five hills encircling Rājagriha (modern Rajgir in Behar). It is so called because its peak is like a vulture (*Papañcasūdanī*, II. 63). According to Cunningham it is a part of Śailagiri, the vulture peak of Fa Hien and Indasālaguhā of Yuan Chwang. It lies two miles and a half to the south-east of new Rajgir. It is also called Giriyeḥ hill (B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 41).

⁹ *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I. 150; cf. *ibid.*, p. 133.

¹⁰ *Apadāna*, II. 346; *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I. 271.

¹¹ *Jātaka*, I. 331.

¹² *Ibid.*, VI. 535; *Apadāna*, 346; *JBBRAS.*, Vol. 13, 1937, p. 28.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I. 40; II. 91; V. 420; VI. 530; *Apadāna*, p. 346.

*Āśoka*¹ (*Saraca indica*, Linn.).—A handsome tree; flowers at the beginning of the hot season; flowers pretty large in clusters; when first opens, the flower is of a beautiful orange colour, gradually changing to red, forming a variety of shades, fragrant during the night. Āśvaghōṣa has described it as the increaser of lover's sorrows.² It is a medicinal plant. It gives relief to those females suffering from menstrual disorder. Its bark is very useful as well as its seed, which greatly helps the function of the kidney. This tree was much liked by Nanda's mistress, Sundarī, as related by Āśvaghōṣa in his *Saundarananda-Kāvya* (Canto VII. 5). A lay disciple of Śrāvastī invited the Buddha to his house. He erected a beautiful pandal where the Buddha took his seat. A woman then was returning home with a large bundle of Āśoka twigs with young leaves and beautiful flowers. She saw the Buddha there and worshipped him with those flowers.³ Āśoka flowers are beautiful and are found through all seasons (*sabbakālikam*).⁴

Assakaṇṇa (*Āśvakarna*) (*Shorea robusta*, Gertn. or *Vatica robusta*).—It is so called from the shape of its leaves.⁵ It is the same as *śāla*,⁶ a timber tree; flowering time—hot season. It is bitter in taste (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, 9th chap.). It cures boils, eczema and cough. It kills worms and cures ear-disease (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). Its wood is not so strong as that of Phandana tree (Plassey).⁷ Many *assakaṇṇas* are found in the forest. A bird killer saw them while roaming about there.⁸ On the Gandhamādana hill where Vessantara dwelt with his wife and children, they were found along with many shrubs and creepers.⁹

Atimutta (*Atimukta*, *Hiptage Madhavi* Gertn.).—It is a beautiful flower.¹⁰ One looks bright being adorned with this flower.¹¹ It is identified with: (1) *Tiniśa* (*Ougenia dalbergioides*); (2) *Tinduka* (*Diospyros Embryopteris*, Pers.); (3) *Mādhavī* (*Hiptage Madhavi* Gertn.). By it we mean *Tiniśa* (*Jāṛul-Amarkoṣa*), *Madhavi* and *Eraṇḍa* (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). The *Madhavi* flowers during the rainy and cold seasons; flowers uncommonly beautiful and exceedingly fragrant.¹² It has also been used as a synonym of *Tiniśa* (*Ougenia dalbergioides*, Benth.) on account of its pearl-white flowers. In the *Saundaranandakāvya* of Āśvaghōṣa Nanda saw this

¹ *Jātaka*, V. 188; *Vv.* 35; *Vism.*, 625; *VvA.*, 173; *Apadāna*, p. 345.

² *Buddhacarita*, IV. 45.

³ *Vimānavatīhu Commentary*, p. 173; B. C. Law, *Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, p. 61.

⁴ *Jātaka*, V. 188.

⁵ *Sūśruta-saṃhitā*, 38th Chap.; *Charaka-saṃhitā*, Chap. 8th.

⁶ *Jātaka*, IV. 209.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 528-529.

⁸ *Milinda*, 338.

⁹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 130, f.n.1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 161.

¹¹ *Apadāna*, P.T.S., 346.

¹² *Vinaya*, II. 256; *Majjhima*, I. 32.

creeper growing up a mango tree and clinging to it. (Canto VII. V. 8).

Ativiṣā—(Sk. *Ativiṣā*).—Name of a plant.¹ *Aconitum heterophyllum*, Wall.

Ālaka (*Alaka*) (probably *Morinda citrifolia*, Linn.).—a plant mentioned in the *Āpadāna* (I. 16; II. 346).

Ālula.—If it is *Āluka*, it is either *Dioscorea alata*, Linn. or *Dioscorea alata*, var *globosa*, Roxb.²

Āmalaka (*Phyllanthus Emblica*, Linn.).—Tree, elegant; flowering time beginning of hot season.³ It is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 3. 1) denoting the myrobalan fruit. It is used as the fruit for the sick monks.⁴ In the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapiṭaka* the physician Jīvaka asked the servant Kāka to eat *āmalaka*.⁵

Āmlavetasa.—See Introduction.

Āsitikā.⁶—A certain plant unidentified.⁷

Badarī.—This tree is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3. 178. 8) without any description. *Zizyphus Jujuba*, Lamk.

Badālatā.—A beautiful creeper of sweet taste.⁸

Bandhujīva or *Bandhujīvaka* (*Pentapetes phoenicea*, Linn.).—It is a kind of plant having red flowers.⁹ Its flowers blossom in the afternoon and fade away in the evening. According to the commentator *bandhujīvaka* flowers are like those of *tilaka* plant. *Bandhujīvaka* and *gaṇḍika* or *bhaṇḍika* fall under the same group.¹⁰ It is called *bāndhuli* or *bandhuka* flower in Sanskrit. In the *Mahāsakuladāyī sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* this flower is described as red in colour and red in lustre.¹¹ The plant named *Gaṇḍikā* mentioned in the *Vimānavatthu* (15) may be identified with *bandhujīvaka*. According to the *Bhāvaprakāśa* *bandhujīvaka* plant cures wind trouble, fever and improves biliary system.

Barihisa (Vedic *barhis*).—Sacrificial grass.¹²

Bel (*Aegle Marmelos*).—Name of a fruit-tree, mentioned in the *Āpadāna*.

Bhaginīmāla.—It is a tree bending with its boughs, which lends beauty to the palace of the Nāga king.¹³

¹ *Ibid.*, I. 201; IV. 35.

² *Āpadāna*, I. 17.

³ *Vinaya*, I. 201, 278; II. 149; *Sam.*, I. 150; *Ang.*, V. 170; *Jātaka*, IV. 363; V. 380; *Milinda*, II.

⁴ *Vinayapiṭaka*, I. 201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 278.

⁶ *Majjhima*, I. 80.

⁷ Cf. *Asītakī-Lalitavistara*, 319.

⁸ *Dīgha*, III. 87; *Visuddhimagga*, 418.

⁹ *Majjhima*, II. 14; *Dīgha*, II. III; *Vism.*, 174; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 43, 161.—*Yodhikā* (*Yuthikā*) *bandhujīvaka* *anojakā rukkhā ca santi*; *Papañcasūdanī*, I. 167.

¹⁰ *Vimānavatthu*, p. 33; *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, 161.

¹¹ *M.N.*, II. 14.

¹² *Dīgha*, I. 141; *Majjhima*, I. 344; *Ang.*, II. 207.

¹³ *Jātaka*, VI. 269, 270; *Āpadāna*, I. 15.

Bhallātaka (*Semecarpus Anacardium*, Linn.).—Bhelā, marking nut.¹ The fruit is sweet and sour. It cures cough, cold, indigestion, stomach trouble and the disease due to worms.

Bhūja (*Bhūrja*) tree (*Betula Bhojpatra*, Heilm. L. Gurt.).—A kind of willow.²

The hermitage of Īsisiṅga (R̥ṣyasīṅga) contains Bhūja tree. It is also found in Kosiya's home.³ Bhūjaka is a celestial tree found on the Gandhamādāna, sweet-scented.⁴

Bilaṅga (Sk. *Viḍaṅga* and *Vilaṅga*) *Embelia ribes*, Burm. (*Erycibe paniculata*).⁵

Bilva (*Bella*) (*Aegle* or *Ægle Marmelos*, Corr.) Sripthal.⁶—It is called Bellā in the Apadāna (II. 346). It is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda* (XX. 136, 13), *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 1), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 4, 4, 8) and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (III. 9, 3). He who desires food and wishes to grow fat ought to make his *yupa* (sacrificial post) of Bilva wood.⁷ According to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II. 1, 8, 1. 2) bilva wood is used for sacrificial post and bilva leaves are used for Śiva worship. In the *Mahābhārata* (3. 177. 23) this tree is mentioned along with *plakṣa*, *rauhitaka*, *badarī*, *vetasa*, *śirīṣa*, *īṅguda*, *karīra*, without any detail of any of them. The juice of its leaves is beneficial to those suffering from eye disease and dyspepsia.

*Bimbajāla*⁸ or *Bimbijāla*.—*Bimbajāla* flowers in winter and scatters its odour abroad.⁹ It is the *bimba* tree (*Momordica monadelphica*).¹⁰ *Bimbijāla*, *bimbī* or *bimbikā* is *Telākucā* (*Coccinia indica*, W. & A.). It is called *kandurī* in Hindi. Its flowers are white and large and its fruit when ripe is very red. Its roots and leaves are used for preparing medicine. The juice from its leaves is useful to those suffering from headache due to heat, and eczema. It gives relief to those suffering from blood dysentery. This plant is found in large numbers in Singbhum and Southern India.

Campaka (*Campā*)¹¹ (*Michelia Champaca*, Heilm.).—It is found in Bengal; a pretty large tree; flowering time—rainy season; delightfully fragrant, white and yellow flowers. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Canto XVII)¹² Lomapāda's fair town was adorned with these

¹ *Ibid.*, VI. 578; *Mahābhārata*, 3. III-III2—It is mentioned along with *āmālaka*, *karuṣaka*, *pippala*, *dhanva*, etc.

² *Ibid.*, V. 195, 405.

³ *Ibid.*, V. 405.

⁴ *VuA.*, p. 162.

⁵ *Jātaka*, VI. 365; *Vin.*, II. 77-78; *Sam.*, I. 90; *Ang.*, I. 145, etc.

⁶ *Jātaka*, VI. 578; *Sam.*, I. 150; *Ang.*, IV. 170.

⁷ Haug's *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 73.

⁸ The red *amaranth* tree, the *Bodhi* tree of the former Buddha Dhammadassin—*Jātaka*, I. 39 (*Bimbijāla*); V. 155; at *Jātaka*, VI. 497-98, the form is *Bimbajāla*.

⁹ *Jātaka*, I. 39; VI. 497.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, (Cowell), VI. 258 f.n.

¹¹ *Jātaka*, V. 420; VI. 269; *Miln.*, 338; *D.A.*, I. 280; *Visuddhim.*, 515; *Dh.A.*, I. 384; *VuA.*, 194; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

¹² Griffith's Tr., p. 33.

sweet-scented yellow flowers. The celebrated Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa says that *campaka* trees were in abundance in the city of Campā (Bhagalpur district). On the banks of the lake Gaggarā near this city there was a large grove of campaka trees famous for their sweet scented flowers.¹

Canaka.—See Introduction. *Cicerarietinum*, Heilm.

Candana—(*Santalum albam* Linn.).—Sandal tree. Its wood is perfumed.² Red and yellow sandal are known as *ratta* or *lohita candana* and *hari candana*.³ There is a mention of *Kāsikacandana* (Benares sandal).⁴ White sandal is good for thirst, burning sensation, headache, eczema, and small-pox.

Candarī is a kind of fruit mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II. 346). It is grouped with *kadali* and *labuja*.

Cīnaka.—See Introduction. *Panicum miliaceum*, Eigen.

Ciñcā (*Tamarindus indica*, Linn.).—Tamarind. In the Himalayas is found a grove of tamarinds with luscious fruits (*madhura-phalam ciñcāvanam*).⁵

Cress flower (*Lepidium sativum*, Linn.).—It is found in the hermitage of Vessantara and it grows round the Mucalinda lake.⁶

Cūrnaka.—See Introduction.

Darbha.—*Imperata arundinacea*, Cyrill. It is a grass. The *Rāmāyana* (Canto LV)⁷ refers to it. It is used at sacrificial ceremonies. *Darbha* is also identified with *Imperata cylindrica*.

Devadāru.—Deodar pine, *Cedrus Deodara*, Roxb. The wood of this tree was used in making the sacrificial post for the *Aśvamedha yajña* of king Daśaratha.⁸ The Himalaya mountain is supremely fragrant with deodars.⁹

*Dhava*¹⁰ (*Anogeissus latifolia*, Wall.).—A timber tree; flowering time: cold season. It is called *Dhāyibāblā*. *Dhava* (*Woodfordia fruticosa* Kurz; *Grislea tomentosa*)¹¹ is the shrub found on the Gandhamādāna hill where Vessantara lived with his wife and children.

Erandā (*Ricinus communis*, Linn.).—Castor oil plant mentioned in the *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (XII. 8). It is the lowest of trees.¹² In a *Jātaka* (II. 440) the Bodhisatta was born as the presiding deity

¹ *Papañcasūdanī*, III. 1.

² *Vin.*, I. 203; *Ang.*, I. 9, 145, 226; III. 237; *Dh.* 54; *Jātaka*, V. 420; *Miln.*, 382; *DhA.*, I. 422; *VvA.*, 158; *PvA.*, 76.

³ *Jātaka*, IV. 442; *Ang.*, V. 22; *Jātaka*, I. 37; *Ibid.*, I. 146.

⁴ *Ang.*, III. 391; IV. 281; *Miln.*, 243, 348.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 547.

⁶ *Jātaka*, No. 514; *SnA.*, 78.

⁷ Griffith's Tr., p. 463.

⁸ *Rāmāyana*, Ādikāṇḍa, 14th chap.; *Mahābhārata*, 3. 178. 10.—mentioned along with *haricandana*, *tunga* and *Kālīyaka*.

⁹ *Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto X, V. 5.

¹⁰ *Ang.*, I. 202, 204; *Jātaka*, IV. 209; VI. 528.

¹¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 130, f.n. 2.

¹² *Jātaka*, II. 440; *Papañcasūdanī*, II. 98; Cf. *Elaṇḍa* (*Majjhima*, I. 124).

of the *Eranda* tree (castor oil tree) which stood in the approach to a certain village. A dead old ox was thrown in the grove of these castor oil trees to be devoured by jackals. It is called *Bherendā* in Bengal. *Eranda* plant is useful to those suffering from rheumatism, boils, worms, etc.

Galocī.—Shrub (*Cocculus cordifolius*). It is a creeper.¹

Gaṇḍa-tiṇḍu.—Name of a plant.²

Gaṇḍamba.—A kind of tree at the foot of which the Master performed the double miracle.³

Gandhaparna.—This tree is full of sweet-scented flowers.⁴

Gāmbhārī.—See Introduction. *Gmelina arborea*, Linn.

Girimallikā.—*Wrightia Antidysenterica*, Grah.⁵

Giripunnāga (probably *Mallotus Philippensis*).—Name of a flower tree, mentioned in the *Apadāna*.

Godhūma.—See Introduction. *Triticum vulgare*, Linn.

Haliddā or *Haliddī* (*Haridrā*—*Curcuma longa*, Roxb.).⁶—It is Turmeric. It grows round the Mucalinda lake.⁷

Hareṇuka.—It cannot be identified.⁸ *Piper Aurantiacum*, Wall.

*Haritaka*⁹ (*Terminalia Chebula*, Retz.).—A large tree; flowering time—hot season; flowers small; its fruits form the commercial chebulic myrobalans. It is used as a purgative. Myrobalan plants grow in the Himalayas. They are known as *Terminalia Chebula*, Retz.; *Phyllanthus Emblica*, Gaertn and *Emblica officinalis*. Its fruits and seeds are used for medicinal purposes. They give relief to those suffering from piles, rheumatism, eye-disease, stone in the gall bladder and smallpox. Its fruit acts as a good purgative. It should be first taken and then a drink of tepid water according to the *Suśruta Samhitā* (Chap. I.).

Hingu.—The plant *Asafoetida*.¹⁰ *Ferula Asafoetida*, Linn.

Hintāla.—A kind of palm, *Phoenix paludosa*.¹¹

Hirivera (Sk. *Hrīvera Pavonia odorata*, Willd.).—A kind of *Andropogon* (sort of perfume).¹²

Iksu (*Saccharum officinarum*, Linn.).—Sugarcane. In the Himalayas is found a grove of sugarcane of the size of the arecanut tree.¹³ Toddy was made from the juice of the sugarcane.¹⁴

¹ DhA., III. 110.

² Jātaka, V. 99.

³ Manorathapūraṇī, I. 125.

⁴ Saundarananda Kāvya, Canto VII. v. 10.

⁵ Rāmāyaṇa, Laṅkākāṇḍa, 4th Chap.

⁶ Vin., I. 201; Jātaka, V. 89; Majj., I. 127; Aṅg., III. 230, 233; Sam., II. 101; KhA., 64.

⁷ Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 278.

⁸ Ibid., VI. 537.

⁹ Vin., I. 201, 206; Jātaka, I. 80; IV. 363; Miln., II; VvA., 5; Apadāna, II. 346.

¹⁰ Vin., I. 201; VvA., 186.

¹¹ Vin., I. 190; DhA., III. 451.

¹² Jātaka, VI. 537; DhA., I. 81.

¹³ Jātaka (Cowell), V. 21.

¹⁴ Ibid. (Cowell), IV. 100-101.

Indasāla.—This tree existed near the door of the Indasāla cave.¹

Indīvara.²—Blue water lily (*Nymphaea stellata*, Linn.). It is well-scented. It is very bitter in taste.

Inguda.—See Introduction. *Balanites Roxburghii*, Manch.

Isimugga.³—There are two plants in Bengal called 'Svet Moorga' and its red variety the 'Lāl Moorga'. They are *Celosia Argentea* Linn. and *Celosia cristata*, Linn. respectively. Both of them are erect annuals. They thrive best in the rainy and cold seasons.

*Jambū*⁴ (*Eugenia Jambolana*, Linn.).—It is the rose-apple tree.⁵ It is both a fruit and a timber tree; flowering time—hot season. It is *kālajām* (blackberry). It is found in Benares.⁶ It stands with its outspreading branches, 50 yojanas in length.⁷

Jivaka. (*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb. or *Terminalia tomentosa*, Bedd.).—It is used as a synonym of *Piyāla* (*Buchanania latifolia*, Roxb.) by Amara (*Apadāna*, I. 17).

Jivanti (*Jivati*)—A medicinal plant. It is identified with: (1) *Caclogyne ovalis* Linol; (2) *Dendrobium Macraei* Lindl.; (3) *Asparagus racemosus*.

Jhāmaka.—It is a plant mentioned in *Jātaka*, VI. 537 but it is difficult to identify it. Some hold that it is a kind of grass.

Kacchaka (*Cedrelateona* Roxb.)—is a kind of fig tree (*Vinaya*, IV. 35; *Sam.*, V. 96; *Visuddhimagga*, 183). Buddhaghosa the Buddhist commentator calls it by the name of *Pilakkhu*. Some say that it is black fig. (*Path of Purity*, PTS. Tr. series, no. 17, p. 120). It is occasionally planted and also self-sown. It is indigenous in most of the lower hills of India. It is called *Tun*.

Kadali (*Musa sapientum*, Linn.).—Banana⁸, the plantain or banana plant always dies down after producing fruit.⁹ In the Himalayas is found a grove of plantain trees with fruits as big as elephants' tusks.¹⁰ According to Medinī, Kadali, and Kandali are one and the same plant. In the *Apadāna* (I. 16) the different reading of *Kandali* is *Kadali*.

¹ *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, III. 697.

² *Mahābhārata*, 3. 158. 44-52; it occurs in the group of other trees such as *pārijāta*, *kovidāra*, *mandāra*, *hinduka*, *vakula*, *ketaka*, *punnāga*, etc.; *Jāt.*, V. 92, VI. 536; *VV.*, 45.

³ *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁴ *Jātaka*, II. 160; V. 6; *Vv.*, 6, 44, 164; *DhA.*, III. 211; *Apadāna*, II, 346.

⁵ *Visuddhimagga*, P.T.S. 206—Its trunk is fifteen yojanas in girth and its height is very great.

⁶ *Jātaka*, VI. 269.

⁷ *Samantapāsādikā*, I. 119.

⁸ *Barhut*, figs. 121 and 127; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁹ *Sam.*, I. 154; *Vinaya*, II. 188; *Sam.*, II. 241; III. 141-42; IV. 167; *Ang.*, II, 73; *DhA.*, III. 156; Cf. *Milinda*, 166.

¹⁰ *Jātaka* (Cowell), V. 21.

*Kadamba*¹ (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*, Benth & Hook).—Orange-coloured, fragrant blossoms.² On the slope of the Himalayan mountain there were waving kadamba trees. (*Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto X, v. 11.) *Vārūṇī* the goddess of wine established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba tree in the woods of Vrindāban. Baladeva smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor resumed his passion for strong drink. (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, V, Chap. XXV). There is no vinous exudation from the Kadamba tree (*Nauclea cadamba* Roxb.). Its flowers are said to yield a spirit by distillation (*Ibid.*, Wilson's Tr., p. 66, f.n.).

Kakkāru flowers (Sk. *Karkāru*, a pumpkin-gourd, the *Cucumis utilisissimus*, Roxb.).³—These divine flowers are fit for those possessed of great powers. There existed three kinds of Kakkāru (*Jātaka*, VI. 536) in the Mucalinda lake. He, who refrains from thievish acts, restrains his tongue from lying words, and reaching dizzy heights of fame still keeps his head, may claim this flower. He who pursues honest wealth, and shuns gross excess in pleasure, has duly won this flower. He that never swerves from fixed purpose and preserves his unchanging faith may justly claim this heavenly flower. He who will never attack good men, when present, nor behind their back and fulfils in deed all he says, may claim this flower.⁴

Kakudha.—*Terminalia Arjuna*, Bedd. (*Jātaka*, VI. 530).

Kalamba (Sk. *Kalamba*, *Menispermum calumba*, Kalambī, *Convolvulus repens*).—Name of a certain herb or plant⁵ also called *Kalambaka*, the Cadamba tree. If it is *Kalambī*, it is *Ipomoea aquatica* Forsk.; flowers large, beautiful rose colour. It is used as a synonym of *Sara* by Amara. Amara again uses the word *Kalamba* as a stalk.⁶

Kaṇavera (*Kaṇavīra*)⁷ (Sk. *Karvīra*; *Nerium odorum*, Oleander).—A wreath of red *kaṇavera* flowers was tied round the neck of a robber who was being led to the place of execution.⁸

Kandali.—Flowering time—rainy season; underground creeper, flowers blue. According to Medinī, Kadali and Kandali are one and the same plant. (*Apadāna*, p. 16, f.n. 1.)

Kaṇikāra and *Kaṇṇikāra*⁹ (*Pterospermum acerifolium*, Willd.), Lily.¹⁰ In the Himalayas grow thickets of pure white lilies, white lilies, white esculent lilies, a mixed tangle of white and other lilies.¹¹

¹ *Jātaka*, VI. 535, 539; *DhA.*, I. 309; *Mahāvamsa*, 25, 48—*Kadambapuppha-vallīhi*.

² *Vis.*, 206; *Jāt.* (Cowell), IV. 184.

³ *Jātaka* (Fausboll), III. 87, 88; vide also *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 59.

⁴ *Jātaka*, VI. 535.

⁵ *Jātaka*, III. 61; IV. 191; V. 420; VI. 406.

⁶ *Jātaka*, IV. 440; V. 420; I. 40; V. 295; VI. 269, 537.

⁷ *Ibid.* (Cowell), IV. 210, 274.

⁸ *Jātaka*, VI. 536.

⁹ *Vaiśyavarga*, śloka 101.

¹⁰ *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 40.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (Cowell), V. 20-21.

Stalks of lilies are eaten by men to save themselves from starvation for want of food.¹ *Kaṇṇikāra* is yellow.²

Kappāsa.³—Cotton tree (*Gossypium herbaceum*, Linn.) grows round the lake Mucalinda.⁴ When the birds let their droppings fall on the cotton tree, a growth of banyan or of fig arises and goes spreading all over the cotton tree. This parasitic growth covers up the main tree.⁵

Kapitthaka (*Feronia elephantum*, Correa).—It seems to be a Vedic medicinal plant. It occurs in the *Atharvaveda* (IV. 4. 8). It is used for virility. It is different from *Kapitthaka* or *Kapitthana* or *Kapitthāna* (*Thespesia Populnea*, Soland ex Correa) occurring in the *Jātaka* and *Apadāna* (II. 445; VI. 529, 550, 553; *Apadāna*, II. 346), which is the wood-apple tree.⁶ It is helpful in curing cough, cold and vomiting, (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). The monkeys eat ripe figs and wood-apples.⁷ In the hermitage on the Gandhamādāna hill where lived Vessantara, his wife and children, there was among many trees *Kapitthaka* or rose-apple tree.⁸ The clusters of rose-apple trees dropped around the lake Mucalinda.⁹ The fruit of *kapittha* is good to eat.¹⁰ The Milinda-Paṇḥo refers to *kapittha* and says that those who want fruits will knock a wood-apple down with the same fruit (*Keci phalakāmā kapitthena kapittham pothenti*—Milinda, Trenckner Ed., p. 189). In some parts of Bengal it is known as *Kayeth Bel*. We hear of volatile oil secreted by this plant. With the resin of this plant dissolved in the sweet water of a small red cocoanut, a sheet of copper was laid over the stones in order to build the great Thūpa.¹¹

Kappura.¹²—Camphor tree.

*Kara*¹³ (*Punica Granatum*, Linn.).—There is only one plant of the name 'Karaka' used as a synonym of *Dālim* (pomegranate). The leaves of the *Kara* (*Canthium parvifolia*, Roxb.), besprinkled with water, were eaten without salt or spice by ascetics living in the woodland.¹⁴ The fruits of this tree were also eaten by them.¹⁵ The word *Kara* refers to *Dālim*, *Palāśa*, *Bakula*, *Red Kāñcana* and *Karavī*. The *Jātaka* refers to *Rattakuravaka-rukkha* (Red Karavī tree).¹⁶

Karaduśa.—See Introduction.

Karanda or *Koranda*¹⁷ (*Carissa Carandas*, Linn.).—Large shrub; flowering time—February, March, April; fruit eaten pickled

¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 205.

² *Majjhima Nikaya*, II. 14.

³ *Dīgha*, II. 141; *Ang.*, III. 295; *Sam.*, V. 284, *Jātaka*, I. 350; VI. 41; VI. 537; *PVA.*, 146.

⁴ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278.

⁵ *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 240.

⁶ *Milinda*, 189; *Jātaka*, VI. 534; *Apadāna*, II. 346; cf. *Mahāvamsa*, 29, II and *Visuddhimagga*, 183.

⁷ *Jātaka*, IV. 445.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI. 529.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VI. 550 and 553.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 534.

¹¹ *Mahāvamsa*, Chap. XXIX, v. 11.

¹² *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

¹³ *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 149.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 150.

¹⁶ *Jātaka*, I. 39.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 536.

and made into tarts. In Orissa *Carissa Spinorum*, Linn., is called *Kurunda* (*Karañcā*). It is the same as *Karaṇḍa* which is known in Bengal as *Tepārī* used to prepare jelly. In the *Apadāna* (p. 448) there is a mention of *Kurañjiyaphala*.

Karañja.—The tree *Pongamia glabra*, Vent, is used medicinally.¹ It is of six kinds: (1) *Dahaḍa Karañja*, (2) *Nātā Karañja*, (3) *Kāmtā Karañja*, (4) *Mākāḍa Karañja*, (5) *Biṣa Karañja*, and (6) *Amla Karañja*. Of these six kinds *Dahaḍa* and *Nātā Karañja* are used medicinally. *Dahaḍa Karañja* is used as a medicine for leprosy, skin disease, etc.

Karaṇṭaka.—See Introduction.

Karavīra (*Nerium odorum*, Solard).—See Introduction.

Karaviya.—It is a flower, red and white.²

Kareri.—Tree otherwise known as *Varuṇa* (*Crataeva religiosa*, Forst.) stood with its shady bower at the door of the *Karerikūti*.³

Karnikā (*Kanikā*, *Premna integrifolia*, Linn.).—*Agnimantha* (*Premna spinosa*, Roxb.) medicinal plant.⁴ It is bitter and sweet at the same time and it is helpful in curing cough, cold, constipation, etc.

Karnikāra (*Cassia Fistula*, Linn.).—Small tree, flowers large, bright yellow, fragrant.⁵ It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3. 24. 18) along with *Nīpa*, *Kadamba*, *Arjuna*, *Madhūka*, etc.

Kaṭeruha.—A flowering plant.⁶

Kaviṭṭha.—The elephant-apple tree. (*Feronia elephantum*).⁷—In the Himalayas is found a grove of elephant-apple trees.⁸

Kāsumārī.⁹—It is sweet. It is named *Diospyros embryopteris* and *Buchanania latifolia*.

Ketaka (*Pandanus Tectorius* Soland ex Parkinson or *Pandanus odoratissimus*).—Flowers chiefly during the rainy season; male and female plants, male flowers are sweet-scented.¹⁰

Kevuka (*Costus speciosus*, Sm.).¹¹—A herb with stout leafy stem, one of the most elegant looking plants of the family; flowers during wet season.

Khadira (*Acacia Catechu*, Linn. or *Mimosa Catechu*).¹²—According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* he who desires heaven ought to make his sacrificial post of *Khadira* wood. In the *Aśvamedha yajña* of *Daśaratha* the *khadira* wood was used in making a sacrificial post.¹³

¹ *Jātaka*, VI. 518-519.

² *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 407.

³ *Apadāna*, I. 16. Another form is *Kanikā*.

⁴ *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 537.

⁶ *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 537.

⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 38.

⁸ *Kaviṭṭhavanam*, *Jātaka*, No. 514 (*Jātaka*, V. 38).

⁹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 270; *Apadāna*, p. 346.

¹⁰ *Jātaka*, IV. 482; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

¹¹ *Apadāna*, I. 16.

¹² *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275.

¹³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, 14th Sarga.

Kimphalarukkha.—This tree stood in a forest near a village. Its trunk, branches, leaves, fruits and flowers resemble those of a mango tree. Not only in outward semblance but also in taste and smell it resembles the mango tree. Its fruits are poisonous. Many caravan merchants halted under this tree and died after taking its fruits.¹

Kimśuka (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.).—The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to this tree having red flowers.²

Kola (*Ziziphus Jujuba*, Lam.).³—Flowering time—rainy season. There are at least three varieties of *Kola*. Cowell translates it as What-fruit tree but it is not at all a happy rendering. Fruits of *Ziziphus Jujuba* Lam. are particularly known as *Kola*. It is a worthless tree.⁴ The ripe jujube fruits are pretty and of red colour. They are egg-shaped.⁵ The jujube fruit is often contrasted with the cocoanut as being only externally pleasing.⁶ The fruit of the jujube tree is called *Badara* not unlike a crab-apple in appearance and taste, very astringent, used for medicine.⁷ The *Kola* tree is also called *Badari*.⁸

Kosamba.—This tree stood before the *Kosambakūṭi* which was one of the main buildings of Śrāvastī.⁹

Kosumbha.¹⁰—This plant is grouped with *Salala* and *Nīpa*.

Koṣṭhāra (Sk. *Kovidāra*) (*Bauhinia variegata*, Linn.).—Flowering time—February to March; flowers large; a sort of ebony.¹¹ It is sour in taste. It heals up wound and cures leprosy and burning sensation in the body (*Vaidyakanighaṇṭu*).

Kṛṣṇā.—See Introduction.

Kṣīrikā.—See Introduction. It may be either *Calotropis Gigantea* or *Ficus Bengalensis*.

Kumbhaṇḍa (Gourd)—*Cucurbita Pepo*, Roxb.; *Cucurbita maxima*, Duchesne.—Three kinds of gourd, all distinct, grow in the lake Mucalinda.¹²

Kuravaka.—Cowell calls it rose.¹³

Kuruṇvaka (*Baleria cristata*, Linn.).—Aśvaghoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* refers to it in full blossom, shining like lac just squeezed out (IV. 47).

Kuruṇvinda.—A kind of grass.¹⁴

¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), I. 271.

² Canto LVI; Griffith's Tr. p. 191.

³ SNA., 356; DA., I. 262; *Apadāna*, I. 17.

⁴ *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 180; *Jātaka*, VI. 578.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 181, f.n. 2; cf. *Hitopadeśa*, I. 95.

⁶ *Ang.*, I. 130; *Pug.*, 32; *Vin.*, IV. 76; *Jātaka*, III. 21; *VvA.*, 186.

⁷ *Jātaka*, II. 260.

⁸ *Apadāna*, I. 17; II. 449.

⁹ *Jātaka*, I. 411; *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 278; V. 21.

¹⁰ *Jātaka*, IV. 440.

¹¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 14.

¹² *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, II. 407.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I. 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 92.

Kusa (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*, Beauv.).¹—Grass.

Kuṣṭha (*Kuṭṭha*) *Costus speciosus* Sm., *Costus Arrabidaë* Steud., *Suassarea auriculata*, S. Lappa, *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 654).²—A kind of fragrant plant or spice.³ It cures rheumatism, cough and wind. It is bitter in taste. In the *Apadāna* (II. 346) there is a mention of *Tāla-Kuṭṭha* which may be the same as *Kuṭṭha*.

Kūṭaja (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*, Wall.).—A deciduous shrub, flowers white in clusters, fragrant. It is a medicinal plant.⁴ *Kūṭaja* and *Sallakī* are known as *Indasāla* trees.⁵ It is called *Kudacī* in Bengali. Its seed is a great medicine for killing worms. Its bark is used for curing blood dysentery.

Kuṭumbaka ⁶ (*Leucas linifolia*, Spreng) is the name of a flower.

Kuyyaka.⁷—Flower which cannot be identified.

Labuja (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Roxb.).—Fruit tree. Its fruits are sweet.⁸ It is bread-fruit tree.⁹

Lakuca.—See Introduction. (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Roxb.)

Lasuna.¹⁰—Garlic. (*Allium sativum*, Linn.). The *Jātaka* refers to green garlic which grows round the lake Mucalinda.¹¹

Loddo (Sk. *Lodhra*) (*Rāmāyana*, 94 sarga. *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*). (*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.).—The woods of *Lodhra* are referred to in the *Rāmāyana* (Canto XLIII, Griffith's Tr., p. 454). The monkeys were sent to search for *Sitā* even in *Lodhra* woods. *Lodhra* is sour in taste; it is good for eye-sight; it cures cough and helps to improve biliary system. It is good for fever also. (*Bhāvaprakāśa*.)

Madhūka.¹² (*Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.).—A middle-sized tree, flowers in March and April; flowers sweet, fragrant, eaten raw. Its juice is sweet (*madhurasā*). It is mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II. 346) and *Visuddhimagga* (p. 260). Honey is extracted from the flowers of this tree for liquor.¹³

Majjhāru (Sk. *Mārjāra*).—A kind of plant unidentified. According to some it is *Plumbago rosea*.¹⁴

Mallikā (Jasmin) (*Jasminum Sambac*, Ait.).—Flowers during rainy season, flowers white and fragrant. Jasmine grows round the lake Mucalinda.¹⁵

¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 89; grass (Cowell), III. 36; *Dham. Commy.*, III. 484; *Jātaka*, I. 190.

² *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275 f.n. 4; *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

³ *Ibid.*, VI. 537.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Cowell), IV. 59; *Jātaka*, VI. 530; *Vinaya*, I. 201; cf. *Vinaya Texts*, II. 45; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁵ *Jātaka*, IV. 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 60.

⁸ *Jātaka*, (Cowell), II. III; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁹ *Dīgha*, I. 53; *Jātaka*, IV. 363; V. 6, 417; *PvA.*, 153.

¹⁰ *Vn.*, II. 140; IV. 258; *Jātaka*, I. 474; *Vv.*, 43; *VvA.*, 186.

¹¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278.

¹² *Vinaya*, I. 246; *Jātaka*, V. 324, 405; VI. 529, 530; *Miln.*, 165; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

¹³ *Vinaya*, I. 246.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 196.

¹⁵ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 278; *Jātaka*, I. 62; III. 291; V. 420; *Miln.*, 333, 338; *KhA.*, 44.

Mandālaka.—A plant mentioned in the *Apadāna* (II, p. 347).

Mañjēthi (*Mañjiṣṭhī*, *Rubia Cordifolia*, Linn.).—Bengal madder.¹ It is mentioned in the *Aitareya* (III. 2. 4) and *Sāṅkhāyana* (VIII. 7) *Āraṇyakas*.

Maricagaccho (Pepper shrub; *Piper nigrum*, Körneu).—It grows in the Himalayas.² There are three kinds: black pepper,³ powdered pepper and fine pepper⁴ (*sukhumam maricacunnam*).

Mādhavī.—See Introduction (*Hiptage Madhavalata*, Gaertn.).

Mālāvaccha.—See Introduction.

Māluva.—A long creeper mentioned in the *Papañcasūdanī*.⁵

*Māsamugga*⁶ (Kidney beans).—In the Himalayas grows a thicket of various kinds of kidney beans (*māsamuggavanam*).⁷

Mātulūṅga (*Citrus medica*, Linn.).—Citron. The rough-skinned citron is bitter to eat. The pulp is sweet.⁸

Moragu (Sk. *Mayūra*) *Achyranthes aspera*, Linn.—A tender grass (*Vin.*, I. 196).

Mucalinda tree (*Barringtonia acutangula*).⁹

Mudurukkha.—A soft tree which grows in an island in the mid-Ganges.¹⁰

Muñja (*Saccharum arundinaceum*, Retz.).—It is a kind of grass. It is used for making girdle.¹¹

Muñjātaka.—See Introduction.

Nalina.—See Introduction.

Navamallikā.—See Introduction.

Nāga (*Nāgakeśara*, *nāgarukkha*) (*Mesua ferrea*, Linn.).—Elegant tree; flowering time—beginning of hot season; flowers large, delightfully fragrant. It is also known as *Nāgeśvara Campā*. It is noted for its hard wood and great masses of red flowers.¹² It is also known as *Nāgalatā-rukkha*.¹³ The *Saundarananda-kāvya* of Āśvaghōṣa refers to *nāga* trees (*nāgavykkhā*) studded with flowers with yellow interiors (Canto VII, v. 9). The bark of this tree is sour in taste. It cures cough, leprosy and wind trouble (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, 60th chap.; *Bhāvaprakāśa*).

Nāgamālikā.¹⁴—It may be the same as *nāgavallikā* which is nothing but betel creeper.

Nāgeśvara.—See Introduction.

¹ DhA., I. 85.

² Jātaka, V. 12.

³ Vinaya, I. 201.

⁴ Jātaka, I. 455; cf. Vinaya, I. 201; Milinda-P., 63.

⁵ II. 371-2; cf. Majjhima, I. 306; Sam., I. 207; Ang., I. 202; Sn., 272; Jātaka, III. 389; V. 205, 215, 389.

⁶ Miln., 267, 341; SnA., 283.

⁷ Jātaka (Cowell), V. 21.

⁸ Jātaka, III. 319; Apadāna, I. 16.

⁹ Vinaya, I. 3; Jātaka, V. 405; VI. 269.

¹⁰ Sāratthappakāsinī, III. 37.

¹¹ Jātaka (Cowell), II. 90 f.n. 3; V. 104; Sn., 440 (*Esa muñjam parihare*).

¹² Jātaka, I. 35; Apadāna, I. 15; Buddhavaṃsa, Chap. II., V. 51.

¹³ Jātaka, I. 80.

¹⁴ Jātaka (Cowell), VI. 133.

Niggunḍi (Jāt., VI. 535). (*Vitex Nigundo*, Linn.).—This plant was found in the hermitage of Vessantara, grouped with *Siriniggunḍi* having black flowers.

Nigrodha.—Banyan tree.¹ Same as *Nyagrodha*.

Nila (*Indigofera tinctoria*, Linn.).—Indigo; it grows round the lake Mucalinda.²

Nila (*Kuraṇḍaka*).—A kind of flower mentioned in the *Papañcasūdanī*.³

Nimba (*Melia Azadirachta*, Linn.).⁴—A beautiful and very useful tree, its flowers are sweet scented. Its leaves are bitter.⁵ In ancient times in Benares robbers who were caught were put to torture by being impaled on a stake of the *Nimba* tree.⁶ It is called *Pucimanda* in the *Papañcasūdanī*.⁷ Its fruits, leaves, barks and seeds are used for medicinal purposes. This tree helps to cure leprosy, skin-disease, worms, etc. According to the *Sūśruta-saṃhitā*, a child will be benefited if he or she is fanned by the branches of *Nimba*, *Pilu* or *Badari* tree. (Chap. X—Tr. Kunjalal Bhishagratna, II. 225).

Nīpa (*Kadamba*).⁸—A large tree; flowering time—hot season. *Anthocephalus Cadamba* mig. or *Nuclea Cadamba*, a species of *Aśoka* tree.

Nīpaka.—See Introduction.

Nivāra.—See Introduction.

Nyagrodha.—This tree (*Ficus Bengalensis*, Linn.) grows on the seventh dvīpa called *Puṣkara*, which is Brahmā's abode (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, II, Chap. IV, Wilson's Tr., pp. 201-202). For further details vide Introduction.

Padma (*Paduma*) (*Nelumbium speciosum*, Willd.).—The Lotus. There are five kinds of lotus⁹ (*Pañcavannapadumasanchanno*). The lotus flowers in tanks, pools and lakes.¹⁰ The Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsang saw four varieties of lotus flowers in one tank: *padma* (red lotus), *utpala* (blue), *puṇḍarika* (yellow) and *kumuda* (white) (Watters *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 177). Lotus fibres were used as food by ascetics in the forest.¹¹ The roots of the lotus are white.¹² White and red lotuses are usually found. Lotus helps to do good to those vomiting blood. It cures pain due to piles, burning sensation in

¹ Barhut, fig. 31.

² I. 167; cf. *Visuddhimagga*, 183.

³ Noted for its hard wood. *Vinaya*, I. 152; *Ang.*, I. 32; *Jātaka*, II. 105-106.

⁴ *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 73.

⁵ II. 372; *Jātaka*, III. 34; IV. 205, VI. 269.

⁶ *Jātaka*, I. 13 (verse 61); *Apadāna*, I. 15; *Buddhavaṃsa*, II. 51.

⁷ *Jātaka* (Cowell), I. 79, 96; IV. 226; V. 37; *Jātaka*, I. 222; V. 337; VI. 341; *Sam.*, I. 138, 204.

⁸ *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 161, 192; IV. 59; *Ang.*, I. 145; II. 86; III. 26, 329. *Sutta Nīpāta*, 71, 213 (*padumaṃ va toyena aliṭṭhamānaṃ*).

⁹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 193.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 198.

hands and feet, and headache. It improves the function of the kidney.

Palāśa ¹ (*Kimśuka*) (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.).—A tree mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Aitareya*, II. 1; *Śatapatha*, I. 3, 3, 19; II. 6, 2, 8). *Parna* is the early name. Its flowering time is March, April; flowers beautiful, deep red shaded with orange and silver coloured down. It bears a profusion of brilliant red flowers which appear before the leaves. It is called the Judas tree. It grows on high grounds. By sprinkling gravel and sweeping all round it, its root is kept smooth and free from grass.² It looks like a burnt stump when its buds sprout from the stem. It looks like a piece of meat at the time of blossoming. It looks like the *acacia* tree when it bears fruit.³ It has pink flowers.⁴ He who desires beauty and knowledge about religion ought to make his *yupa* or sacrificial post of the *Palāśa* wood (Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 73). A certain fowl, after eating the ripe fruit of a banyan, perched on the Judas tree and dropped its excrement into the fork of it. Thence there sprang up a young banyan which grew to the height of four inches, and was bright with red shoot and greenery. Every tree on which a banyan shoot springs up, is destroyed by its growth.⁵ *Plassey* tree (*Butea frondosa* Roxb.) is good for making a cart or any part of it.⁶ The *Phandana* (*Butea frondosa*, Roxb.),⁷ is a tree of the same kind as the *Palāśa*.⁸

Palimanthaka.—See Introduction.

Paṅgura (*Jātaka*, VI. 535).—It cannot be identified.

Panasa (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, Linn.).—A large ever-green fruit tree.⁹ In the Himalayas is found a grove of jack-fruit of the size of a water-jar (*cātippamānaphalam panasavanam*).¹⁰

Paṭala.—See Introduction. (*Stereospermum Anaveolens*, DC.)

Pārāvata.—See Introduction.

Pārīchattaka ¹¹ (*Erythrina Indica*, Lam.).—It is the coral tree.¹² It grows in Mithilā.¹³ Its flowers are pure and sweet.¹⁴

Pārijāta.—See Introduction.

Pāṭali ¹⁵ (*Pāṭul*) (*Stereospermum suaveolens*, DC.).—A middle-sized tree; flowering time—hot season; exquisitely fragrant. It is

¹ *Majjhima*, I. 111; *Jātaka*, III. 23.

² *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 185.

³ *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 137.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 275.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 129 f.n. 2; See B. C. Law Volume, I. 653.

⁶ *Barhut*, Pl. xxiv; *Jātaka*, I. 450; II. 160; V. 465; *Vv.*, 44; *KhA.*, 50; *SnA.*, 475.

⁷ *Jātaka*, V. 38.

⁸ *Vinaya*, I. 30; *Ang.*, IV. 117; *Vv.*, 38; *Jātaka*, I. 40; *KhA.*, 122; *SnA.*, 485;

DhA., I. 273; III. 211; *VvA.*, 12, 110; *PvA.*, 137; *Buddhavamsa*, Ch. I, v. 17.

⁹ *Visuddhimagga*, 206.

¹⁰ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 168, 226 and 290.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (Cowell), V. 210.

¹² *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Jātaka*, I. 41; *Barhut*, fig. 26; *Aṭṭadāna*, I. 15.

² *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 185 f.n. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 127, 130.

called the trumpet-flower tree.¹ *Citta-Pāṭali*² signifies that the *Pāṭali* tree is variegated and beautiful.³ The *Jātaka* mentions *Dhanu-pāṭali* (V. 422). The *Pāṭali* tree had some connection with the origin of the name of *Pāṭaliputra*, which was also named as *Pāṭali-grāma*. The village was so called because a *Pāṭali* tree was its cognizance or because it contained numerous *Pāṭali* trees or because on the day of its foundation many *Pāṭali* shoots sprouted forth from the ground. It is interesting to note that thousands of villages in Bihar are named after trees, e.g. *Ambasaṇḍa*.⁴

Pilakkha (*Pilakkhu*) is, according to some, wave-leaved fig tree.⁵ It was found at Benares.⁶ *Pilakkha* is Vedic *Plakṣa* (*Ficus infectoria*, Roxb.). It is a large and beautiful tree with small white fruit. It is also called *Prakṣa*.⁷ It is known as *Pākur* in Bengal. A hidden treasure was found beneath this tree (*nīdhinikhāto*).⁸ The *Atharvaveda*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇas* refer to this tree.⁹

Pilu.—See Introduction. *Salvadora persica* Linn., *S. Indica*, Wight.

Pipal.—*Ficus religiosa*, Bertrand. The ripe fruits of this tree are eaten by birds.¹⁰

Pippala (*Pippala*, Sk. *Pippali*).¹¹—Stood by the side of the *Pippali* or *Pippali* cave in *Rājagriha*, which was visited by the Buddha.¹² *Rājagriha* was full of beautiful groves of *Pippali* trees. *Pippala*, in the sense of berry, is found in the *Rigveda* (I. 164, 20). In the *Atharvaveda* (61) *Pippali* in the feminine form denotes berries used as a remedy for wounds.¹³ According to the *Sūsruta-saṃhitā* clarified butter prepared with the decoction of *yaṣṭimadhu*, *vaca*, *triphalā*, *pippali* and *citraka* should be given to an infant fed both on milk and boiled rice.¹⁴

Pīṭasāla.—See Introduction. (*Pentaptera tomentosa*, Roxb.)

Piyaka.¹⁵—It goes under various names, *Nauclea cadamba*, *Terminalia tomentosa*, and *Vitex trifolia*.¹⁶ (*Jātaka*, V. 420.)

¹ *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, II. 415; cf. *Milinda*, p. 333; *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 289.

² *Visudh.*, p. 206.

³ *Manorathapūraṇi*, II. 34-35.

⁴ Barua, *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 119; for a different story, Vide B. C. Law, *The Magadhas in Ancient India*, RAS Mono. XXIV, p. 37.

⁵ *Vin.*, IV. 35; cf. *Dham. Commy.*, I. 81.

⁶ *Ang.*, I. 280.

⁷ *Vedic Ind.*, II. 54.

⁸ *Jātaka*, III. 24.

⁹ V. 5. 5; VII. 4. 12. I; cf. *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*, III. 10. 2; *Āitareya Brāh.* VII. 32; VIII. 16; *Taittirīya Brāh.*, III. 8. 19. 2; *Śatapatha Brāh.*, III. 8. 3. 10. 12, etc.

¹⁰ *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 188.

¹¹ *Vinaya*, I. 201; *Apadāna*, II. 346; *Buddhavaṃsa*, Ch. II, v. 214.

¹² *Sam.*, V. 79; cf. *Udānavannanā*, Siamese ed., p. 77.

¹³ *Vedic Index*, I. 531.

¹⁴ Chap. X (K. L. Bhishagratna's ed.), p. 231.

¹⁵ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 269.

¹⁶ *Jātaka*, V. 420.

*Piyāla*¹ (*Buchanania Latifolia*, Roxb.).—A large tree; flowers in January and February; flowers small, of a whitish green colour; fruits eaten.² The bark of this tree is good for cough. Its fruit is sweet and gives strength like its seed. It cures fever and burning sensation in the body (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). In the *Mahābhārata* (3. 40. 2-5), the name of this tree occurs along with *dhava*, *tinduka*, *lodhra*, *khadira*, *padma*, *āmalaka*, *nyagrodha*, etc.

Piyaṅgu, *Setaria italica*, Beauv. (*Agrost*).—Panic seed.³ It grows round the lake Mucalinda.⁴ The *Piyaṅgu* flower is recognized by its smell.⁵ The black *Piyaṅgu* creeper is mentioned in the *Jātaka Nidānakathā*.⁶ It is very delicate.⁷

Punarnavā.—See Introduction. *Boerpadira repens*, Linn.

Puṇḍarikā (*Nelumbo nucifera*, Gaertn.).—White lotus (*Nymphaea Lotus* or *N. Alba*).⁸ The water of the half of the Mandākinī pond which was waist deep, was full of white lotuses.⁹

Punnāga (*Calophyllum inophyllum*, Linn.).¹⁰—A most elegant tree, flowers pure white, fragrant, flowering most part of the year,¹¹ especially the beginning of the hot season. It is sour in taste and it helps to do good to the biliary system.¹²

It may be identified with *Nāgakeśara* tree (modern *Nāgeśwara*).¹³ *Giri-punnāga* is probably *Mallotus philippensis* Muel-Arg. It is also called *Mahāpunnāga* which grows on hills.¹⁴

Puttañva (*Putranjiva* Roxburghii, Wall.).¹⁵

Phañijjaka.—It is the *samīraṇa* plant (Childers). It is a kind of plant enumerated in the *Vinayapīṭaka* (IV. 35 = *Sumaṅgala-vilāsini*, I. 81) as one of the plants propagated by slips or cuttings, (*aggabīja*) together with *ajjuka* and *hirivera*.

Raupīṭaka.—See Introduction.

Rājāyatana (*Buchanania Latifolia*).—Lakuca fruit tree belonging to the citron order, the unripe fruits of which are used as medicines. This tree is historically important as the Buddha spent seven days and nights in meditation at the foot of this tree. The two merchants Tapussa and Bhallika became his first lay devotees under this tree (*Dāthāvamsa*, Chap. I, vs. 57-59).

Rucarukkha (*Maṅgala rukkhā*, also called *Mukkhako*).—There grew in Benares a beautiful Wishing Tree with straight stem and spreading branches.¹⁶

¹ *Jātaka*, V. 405.

² *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 657.

³ *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 162.

⁴ *Saundarananda Kāvya*, VII. 6.

⁵ *Dīgha*, I. 75; *Ang.*, III. 26; *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Majjhima*, III. 93; *Sam.*, I. 138, 204; *Jātaka*, III. 309; *Ang.*, I. 145; *D.A.*, I. 219, 284; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁶ *Sārathappakāsini*, I. 280ff.

⁷ *Jātaka*, I. 9; *Khuddakapāṭha-A.*, 50, 53; *Buddhāvamsa*, II. 51.

⁸ *Rājanighaṇṭu*, varga 70.

⁹ *Jātaka*, VI. 531.

¹⁰ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 270.

¹¹ *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

¹² *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 169.

¹³ *Apadāna*, II. 345.

¹⁴ *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

¹⁵ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 275, f.n. 4.

¹⁶ *Jātaka*, I. 441.

Samdhava.—See Introduction.

Saha (*Sahaka*).—Plant.¹

Salala (*Pinus Devadara*).—A sweet-scented flower (*Buddhavaṃsa*, Chap. II, v. 51; *Jātaka*, V. 420; I. 13; *VvA.*, 162; *Milinda*, 338; *Majjhima*, II. 184; *Sāratthappakāsinī*, III. 263).

It is probably a pine tree (*Cedrus deodora*, *Apadāna*, II. 346).

Sallaki (*Boswellia Serrata*, Roxb.).—A tree mentioned in the *Dhammapada Commentary* along with *Kūṭaja* and *Viruḷha* (IV. 13).

Samdhava.—See Introduction.

Sattappaṇṇa (*Alstonia scholaris*, R.Br.).—It was the tree² which stood by the side of the Sattappaṇṇa cave, which derived its name from Saptaparna or Saptaparni tree.³

Sāka (*Tectona grandis*, Linn.).⁴

*Śāla*⁵ (*Shorea robusta*, Gaertn.).⁶—It is straight and well grown, fine in girth and height, thick and strong. Its trunk is mighty. It is worshipped by village and townfolk as a lucky tree.⁷ Flowering time is the hot season. Flowers droop from their stems in the evening.⁸ The branches of a big śāla tree standing in the Gosiṅgaśālavana grew up like horns of a cow.⁹ There is a description of Śāla trees surrounding a village which appeared like a fence.¹⁰ The Śāla grove of the Mallas was called Upavattana.¹¹ According to Śuśruta, gummy exudation of śāla trees mixed with clarified butter should be used in fumigation (*Śuśruta-saṃhitā*, K. L. Bhishagratna Ed., Chap. I).

Sāleyyaka (*Parmelia pevlata*, Ach.).—It is mentioned in the *Apadāna*, II. 346. The flowers are plenty and beautiful.

*Sālī*¹² (*Oryza sativa*, Linn.).—Self-sown paddy¹³ (*sayañjāto va sālī*); red paddy (*lohitaka* or *rattasālī*).¹⁴

Śālmali, same as *Simbalī*.—See Introduction.

Samī.—A tree with huge branches and thick foliage (*Mahābhārata*, *Vaṅgavāsī* Ed., 4. 5. 13; 4. 40. 3; 4. 41. 8).

It is the silk cotton tree (*Bombax Heptaphyllum*) (*Viṣṇupurāṇa*, VI. I. Wilson's Tr.).

Sāmā.—A medicinal plant.¹⁵

¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), VI. 269; *Apadāna*, I. 17.

² *Jātaka*, VI. 269; *Mhvs.*, 30, 47.

³ Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, III. v. 19; *Mahāvastu*, I. 70.

⁴ *Dīgha*, I. 42; *DA.*, I. 259; *Visuddhimagga*, 250.

⁵ *Majjhima*, I. 488; *Dīgha*, II. 134; *Ang.*, I. 202; III. 214; *VvA.*, 176.

⁶ *Barhut*, fig. 28; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁷ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 97.

⁸ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 188.

⁹ *Papañcasū*, II. 235.

¹⁰ *Sāratthappakāsinī*, I. 222.

¹¹ *Dīgha*, I. 105; II. 293; *Vinaya*, IV. 264; *Majjhima*, I. 57; *Ang.*, I. 32, 145; III. 49; IV. 108.

¹² *Jātaka*, V. 12.

¹³ *Jātaka*, IV. 92.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 37; *Miln.*, 252.

Sāmāka (Vedic *śyāmāka*) (*Panicum frumentaceum*, Roxb.).—A kind of millet.¹

Sāsapa (mustard).—Grows round the lake Mucalinda.² It is found in the hermitage of Vessantara.

Sātamūli (*Asparagus racemosa*, Willd.).—See Introduction.

Sepaṇṇi (Sk. *Śrīparṇī*, lit. having lucky leaves).—Name of a tree, *Sereyyaka* (*Barleria cristata*).³ It is also called *Gmelina arborea*.⁴ Its fruits are eaten by deer.⁵

Setageru.⁶—It is grouped with Tagara.

Setavarī is a sweet scented flower mentioned in the *Apadāna*, (II. 347), which is found in the hermitage of the sage Upasiva on the Anoma hill, not far from the Himalayas.

Sevāla (Sk. *Śaivāla* or *Śaivala*) (*Blyxa Octandra*, Rich.).⁷—A water plant named Paṇṇaka is often combined with Sevāla. It is a kind of fern.

*Siggu*⁸ (*Hyperanthera moringa*, Vahl), *Moringa pterygosperum*, Gaertn.

Śimbali (*Bombax ceiba* Linn.).—It is called the silk-cotton tree.⁹ It grows upon the flat top of a hill,¹⁰ on a high table-land in the heart of a forest,¹¹ and on the banks of rivers.¹² It bears abundant fruits. There was a forest having *śimbali* trees which were the abodes of young vultures.¹³ It is mentioned in the *Rgveda* (III. 53. 22) denoting silk-cotton tree (*śimbala*). *Simula* is a *Rgvedic* plant;¹⁴ flowering time—the end of winter; flowers very large, bright red. It is known as *Śālmālī* (*Salmalia Malabarica*) in Sanskrit. Its roots, flowers, and thorns are used in preparing medicines. Its seed is a great medicine for cows when attacked with smallpox.

Siṃsaka—Water plant (*Jātaka*, VI. 536).

Siṃśapā (*Dalbergia sissoo*, Roxb.).—See Introduction.

Sinduvāra (*Vitex Negundo*, Linn.).¹⁵—The *Rāmāyana* (canto XXVII, Griffith's tr., p. 431) refers to it. Its flowers are beautiful. Aśvaghoṣa mentions *sindhuvāra* bushes growing on the bank of a pond which is full of them (*Buddhacarita*, IV. 49). *Sindhuvanta*

¹ *Dīgha*, I. 166; *Majjhima*, I. 78; *Āṅg.*, I. 295; II. 206; *Jātaka*, III. 144; *Sutta Nipāta*, 239.

² *Jātaka*, VI. 536.

³ *Jātaka*, III. 253.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 173, 174; *DhA.* (*Sepaṇṇi*), I. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.* (Cowell), I. 57.

⁶ *Jātaka*, VI. 535.

⁷ *Āṅg.*, III. 187, 232, 235; *Jātaka*, II. 150; III. 520; IV. 71; *Ibid.*, V. 462; *Milinda*, 35.

⁸ *Jātaka*, III. 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 203; III. 397; *DhA.*, I. 279.

¹⁰ *Visuddhimagga*, p. 206.

¹¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 175.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 268.

¹³ *Dham. Commy.*, I. 279.

¹⁴ *Rigveda*, VII. 50, 3.

¹⁵ *VvA.*, 177; *Sinduvārīta*, *Jātaka*, VI. 269, 550, 553; IV. 440, 442; *Apadāna*, II.

(*Vitex Negundo*, Linn.), *Nisinda*, a small elegant shrub, flowers all the year round, a medicinal plant.

*Śirīsa*¹ (*Albizia Lebbek*).—It is a thorny cool-leaved tree. It is hard and full of pith. When wood-peckers peck at the tree trunks, insects come out.²

Śīsu.—See Introduction.

Ślesmātaka or *Ślasmātaka* (*Cordia latifolia* Wall. or *Cordia Myxa* Linn.). It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ādikāṇḍa*, 14th Sarga; cf. *Mahābhārata*, 3, 134. 28). It is a tree or shrub found in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, North Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats, etc. There are two varieties: *Cordia obliqua* and *Cordia wallichii*. When ripe, the fruits are eaten by the local people.

Sobhāñjanaka (*Moringa pterygosperma*, Gaertn.).³

Soma.—A kind of tree.⁴

Sumana.—Jasmin flower.⁵ It is the same as *vazzika* (a kind of Jasmin).

Syandana, (*Ougenia dalbergoides*, Benth.).—See Introduction.

Tagara (*Ervatamia coronaria* Stapt.).—Flowers pure white, delightfully fragrant during night.⁶ It is also mentioned as a shrub (*Tabernaemontana coronaria* Br.).⁷

Takkala.⁸—Is a bulbous plant, a tuberose.

Takkola or *Kakkola*.—Plant.⁹

*Tāla*¹⁰ (*Borassus flabellifer*, Linn.).—The palm tree is very big¹¹ (80 cubits high). Its fruits are eaten by men.¹² Crows build their nests on palm trees.¹³ The *tāla* trees are grouped along with cocoanut and *kusaka* trees.¹⁴ It is called fan palm.

Tālissaka (*Flacourtia cataphracta* Bestand).—Shrub.¹⁵

Tēla (*Sesamum indicum*, D.C.)¹⁶ or *S. orientale*, Linn.

*Tilaka*¹⁷ (*Tilvaka*) (*Symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.).—It is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 8. 1. 16) and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* (III. 1. 9). It is used for a sacrificial post as mentioned in the *Śadvimśa Brāhmaṇa* (III. 8). It is the same as *Tiriṭa*.¹⁸ Its flower

¹ Vv., 84; VvA., 331, 344.

² *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 114; cf. *Vis.*, p. 208.

³ *Jātaka*, VI. 535; V. 405; III. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 62; IV. 455; DhA., IV. 112.

⁵ *Vin.*, I. 203; *Jātaka*, IV. 286; VI. 100; the shrub VI. 173; *Miln.*, 338.

⁶ *Jātaka*, VI. 100. ⁸ *Ibid.*, VI. 578.

⁷ *Jātaka*, VI. 100. ⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 291.

¹⁰ *Majj.*, I. 187; *Jātaka*, I. 202, 273; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

¹¹ *Jātaka* (Cowell), V. 2.

¹² *Jātaka*, I. 202, 273.

¹³ *Vin.*, I. 203; *Jātaka*, IV. 286; *Miln.*, 338.

¹⁴ *Vin.*, I. 212; *Ang.*, IV. 108.

¹⁵ *Jātaka* (Cowell), IV. 289; *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 133.

¹⁶ *Vin.*, I. 306; *Digha*, I. 166; *Ang.*, I. 295; *Majjhima*, I. 343.

¹² *Ibid.*, IV. 158.

¹⁴ VvA., 162.

is like that of the *Bandhujiṣvaka* tree (*VvA.*, 43). In the *Saundara-nanda-Kāvya* it is described as having flowers on the head (canto VII, v. 7). *Aśvaghōṣa* refers to it as being embraced by a mango branch.¹

Timba.—It is of golden colour.²

Timbaru (*Strychnos potatorum*, or *Diospyros*).³—It is the same as *Timbarūsaka*.⁴

Timira.—Its flower is sweet scented (*Apadāna*, II. 345).

Tinasulika.⁵—If it is a scented grass, then it is either *Andropogon Nardus*, Linn., or *Andropogon squarrosus*, Linn. (*Khaskhas*).

*Tinduka*⁶ (*Diospyros Embryopteris*, Pers.).—This tree is found in a village not far from the Himalayas. It is covered with twigs and branches. Its fruits are sweet and are eaten by men and monkeys.⁷ It is *Gāva* in Bengali. Its fruits, flowers and leaves are used as medicines. Its fruit is very useful in curing cuts and bruises. Its ripe fruit purifies blood.

Tipusa.—Is a species of cucumber.⁸

Tulasī (*Ocimum sanctum*, Linn.).—It grows in wilderness. It is a medicinal plant.⁹

Udāra.—See Introduction.

*Uddālaka*¹⁰—*Cālītā* (*Dillenia indica*, Linn.).—When in flowers one of the most beautiful trees; flowers very large, delightfully fragrant. It is also used as synonymous with *ślesmātaka*. The *Uddāla* tree¹¹ is *Cassia Fistula* (also known as *Indīvara* or *Cordia myxa*). It is also called *Paspalum frumentaceum*, Roxb. It is bitter in taste. It cures boils, leprosy, etc. It is poisonous (*Bhāvaprakāśa*). It is a big tree which obstructs wind (*rājarukkha*, *vātaghātaka*).¹²

Udumbara (*Ficus glomerata*, Roxb.).—It is the fig tree as in *Barhut*, fig. 30.¹³ Ripe figs are luscious and sweet like powdered sugar.¹⁴ These fruits which are sweet like honey are eaten by men and parrots.¹⁵ *Udumbara* is not found in the *Rgveda*. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (XIX. 31. 1).¹⁶ Its wood was used for the sacrificial post and the sacrificial ladle.¹⁷ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*

¹ *Buddhacarita*, IV. 46.

² *Jātaka*, VI. 530.

³ *Jātaka*, VI. 336.

⁴ *Vin.*, III. 59; *Vv.*, 33.

⁵ *Apadāna*, I. 16.

⁶ *Dīgha*, I. 178; *Jātaka*, V. 99; *Apadāna*, II. 346.

⁷ *Jātaka* (Cowell), II. 53; IV. 270; V. 38.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI. 536.

⁸ *Jātaka*, V. 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* (Cowell), VI. 133.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 188.

¹² *VvA.*, 43.

¹³ *Dīgha*, II. 4; *Vin.*, IV. 35; *Ang.*, IV. 283; *Suttanipāta*, 5; *Dhammapada Commentary*, I. 284; *Khuddakapāṭha Commy.*, 46. 56; *Vimānavatthū-aṭṭhakathā*, p. 213; *Suttanipāta Commy.*, 19.

¹⁴ *Jātaka* (Cowell), III. 73.

¹⁵ *Jātaka*, VI. 174; *Ibid.* (Cowell), III. 292-4.

¹⁶ Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2. 1. 33; VII. 4. 38.

¹⁷ *Taittirīya Saṃ.*, II. 1. 1. 6; *Ibid.*, V. 4. 7. 3.

refers to the sweetness of its fruit (VII. 15) and to its ripening thrice annually (V. 24). The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* mentions a forest of fig (*udumbara*) trees (XVI. 6, 4). The *Suttanipāṭa* refers to the flowers of the fig tree (p. 1).¹ In the *Jātaka* (VI. 529) ripe figs (*ṭakkā udumbarā*) are as sweet as honey and they are eaten by family members.² In another *Jātaka* (VI. 347-348) we read that a young man named Piṅguttara was married to his teacher's daughter named Udumbaradevī. Both unhappy they came to Mithilā. Near the town Piṅguttara they saw a fig (*udumbara*) tree full of fruits (*phalasampannam udumbaram disvā*). He then climbed up and ate some of the figs. The girl also being hungry climbed up and ate. As soon as he saw her on the tree, he came down and put thorns round the tree, so that she might not come down. In the hermitage of Vessantara there was plenty of figs among other fruits.³ The fig tree is known as *Yajñadūmur* in Bengal.

There was a big fig tree (*udumbara*) on a sea-beach where a monkey used to live. The monkey had a crocodile as its friend. The wife of the crocodile was desirous of eating the monkey's heart-flesh. This fact was divulged to the monkey by the crocodile while crossing the sea to go to the other side. The monkey was clever enough to find out a means to cheat the crocodile by saying that its heart was left on the fig tree. So it was necessary to go back to the fig tree. To this the crocodile agreed. The monkey went back to the tree and rebuked the crocodile which was thus deceived.⁴

347/1
531/1 *Ummā* (*Linum usitatissimum*, Linn.).—Its flower is blue in colour.⁵

Usīra.—The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Book VI, Chap. I) refers to it (*Andropogon muricatus*, Retz.). It is a kind of grass.

Vaca (*Acorus Calamus*, Linn.).—See Introduction.

Vadara.—See Introduction.

Vakula (*Mimusops Elengi*, Linn.).—Flowering time—hot season; flowers white and fragrant.⁶ Its bark does good to gum and its fruit is good for headache. It is generally planted for shade. It is bitter in taste. It kills worms and cures cough. It also improves the biliary system (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, Varga 6).

Vassika (*Vassikā* or *Vassikī*).—Jasmin plant, flowers very large (*Jasminum Sambac*). The flower is said to be the most fragrant of all flowers.⁷

Vāsantī.⁸—It existed in the hermitage of Vessantara but it is difficult to be identified.

¹ Cf. *Suttanipāṭa Commy.*, p. 19.

² *Jātaka*, VI. 529.

³ *Majjhima Nikāya*, II. 13.

⁴ *Āṅguttara*, V. 22; *Saṃyutta*, V. 44; *DhA.*, IV. 112.

⁵ *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

⁶ *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, IV. 283.

⁷ *Mahāvastu*, II. 246.

⁸ *Jātaka*, V. 420; *Apadāna*, I. 16.

Vātingana (*Solanum Melongens*).—Egg-plant.¹

Venu (*Bambusa arundinacea*, Retz.).—The bamboo tree dies after bearing fruit.² In the Himalayas there was a bamboo grove (*Venuvana*).³ There was a charming garden, park, or grove at Rājagriha called *Veluvana* or *Venuvana* surrounded by bamboos. (Cf. *Suttanipāta Commentary*, p. 419). The name may be translated as 'Bamboo grove' or 'Bamboo Park'. The fuller name of the site was *Veluvana Kalandakanivāpa*.

Vettalatā (*Calamus Rotang*, Linn.).—Cane creeper.⁴

Vibhītaka (*Terminalia Belerica*).—*Bahedā*; flowering time—beginning of hot season; flowers of a dirty grey colour (*Apadāna*, II, 346). Its fruits are the commercial Beleric myrobalans. *Haritaka*, *Vibhītaka* and *Āmalaka* form the three commercial myrobalans. They are known as *Triphalā* in Bengal. *Vibhītaka* and *āmalaka* are used as medicines. The bark of *Bahedā* is good for dropsy. It gives relief to those suffering from chronic cough. The sale of fruits and herbs was forbidden to the Brāhmaṇas (*Manusamhitā*, X. 87). This tree is also found in the hermitage of Upasiva built on the Anoma hill, not far from the Himalayas (*Apadāna*, II, 346).

Vijapūraka (*Citrus medica*, Linn.).—See Introduction.

Virūḥa.—Olibane (*Jātaka*, IV. 92).

Yaṣṭimadhu (*Madhulatṭhi* or *Latṭhimadhu* ⁵ (*Glycyrrhiza glabra*, Linn.).⁶ It is called the liquorice plant. It grows round the Mucalinda Lake. (*Yaṭṭhimadhuka*, cane sweetness, *Mahāvamsa*, 32, 46). It is very useful for eye disease.

Yava (*Hordeum Vulgare*, Linn.).—Barley.⁷ There is a reference to green barley (*haritam yavam*) in the *Jātaka* (II. 110). According to the *Sūsruta-samhitā* a patient will be benefited if his body is rubbed with leaves of *aśvagandhā*, *punarṇavā* and *yava*.⁸

¹ *Jātaka*, V. 131.

² Another Pali form is *Veḷu*—*Phalaṃ Veḷum va taṃ vadhi* (*Jātaka*, V. 71).

³ *Jātaka*, V. 38.

⁴ *Jātaka*, I. 342; *VvA.*, 8, 338.

⁵ *Jātaka*, VI. 537.

⁶ *B. C. Law Volume*, I. 665.

⁷ *Vin.*, IV., 264; *Ang.*, IV., 169.

⁸ K. L. Bhishagratna's ed., Chapter XLI, 243.

PROBLEMS OF INDIAN LINGUISTICS *

By BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

What should the phrase 'Indian Linguistics' properly mean? As I see it, 'Indian Linguistics' should mean the Science of Linguistics as it developed in India, and not the comparative and historical study of the languages of India. But I know, I shall find but feeble support for my contention even in this august assembly. So, to remain true to myself, without affronting enlightened public opinion, I have decided to discuss in my address problems concerning the Science of Linguistics as it developed in India, as well as a few general linguistic problems specially affecting some of the important languages of India.

Science is everywhere preceded by mysticism and faith in the supernatural. The Science of Linguistics is no exception to this general rule. At the earliest stage, as Güntert has suggested in his interesting book *Sprache der Götter und Geister*, a belief in the existence of non-human speech-forms, of which human speech is only a degenerate variety, was current among many peoples. Daivic and Āsuric speech-forms have been frequently contrasted in the Vedic literature, and similar contrasting of sacred and profane speech is found also in Iran, Greece and the Germanic countries. Godly speech uttered by human instruments is a common theme in the folklores of many peoples, the instruments, according to Vedic sources, being mostly 'virgins possessed by Gandharvas' (*gandharvagrhitā kanyā*). The main point of interest in these folklores from the view-point of Linguistics is that even before the birth of scientific thinking mankind had realized that all speech-forms are not of the same order, and that the normal human speech is a sort of *via media* between godly speech on the one hand and demoniac speech on the other, i.e., an ideal speech and the vulgar speech of every-day use. This was an important discovery, albeit made by non-scientific means. For it must not be forgotten that Pāṇini, too, in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* could not define his language more accurately. The language depicted by Pāṇini is also a *via media* between *chandas*—the godly speech of pre-scientific folklore—and *bhāṣā*, the vulgar speech, that may stand comparison with the Āsuric speech of old. Not that Pāṇini wanted to banish altogether from his ideal speech-form every vestige of Daivic and Āsuric speech. What he has done is rather to strike a middle course, taking in all that was common to

* Presidential Address, Section of Indian Linguistics, Fourteenth All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga (Mithilā).

both *chandas* and *bhāṣā* in his days, and pointing out some of those obtrusively Vedic and *Bhāṣā* forms that had come to stay in spite of their restricted use. Thus we see that the old habit of contrasting godly and demoniac speech did not die even after the birth of scientific Linguistics. Only the setting had been changed. In folklore, normal speech used to be considered as intermediate between godly and demoniac speech; Pāṇini tried to set up as norm a syncretic form in which the sacred *chandas* was blended with vulgar *bhāṣā*, without however losing the consciousness in any instance that the speech-forms he was blending in his grammar were wide apart and really irreconcilable. Hence the artificiality of the Pāṇinian idiom.

The tradition of a godly idiom side by side with human and demoniac speech-forms was doubtless one of the most potent causes of the birth of linguistic speculations in India at a very early date. Familiar speech-forms are proverbially incapable of awakening the linguistic curiosity of man. Even after the birth of modern Linguistics, European savants at first showed greater zeal in investigating obscure dialects in distant corners of the earth than in the study of the great languages with which they were perfectly familiar, either through birth, or by training. So, it need not be surprising that the common speech of the common man was not considered by the earliest Indian linguisticians to be worthy of scientific interest. In Greece, too, it was the Homeric language that was first of all subjected to scientific investigation. So in India, it was the language of the Vedas—the divine speech-form—that monopolized the attention of the earliest investigators. The presence of godly speech thus proved harmful to the study of the living dialects of the day. Even their existence none cared to frankly admit before the grammarian Patañjali. But it must not be forgotten that without the presence of a speech-form acknowledged as divine, the birth of scientific Linguistics would never have been possible so early in India. For the demoniac speech-form, the only other alternative to divine speech as a contrast to the common human speech-form, was of course taboo.

The language that was earliest subjected to scientific investigation in India was frankly regarded as a divine speech-form. But things divine are above law. Could the study of a language that was admittedly above law initiate an era of scientific Linguistics? Did not Pāṇini himself by his apparently cavalier-like treatment of the Vedic language emphasize precisely that this godly speech is not amenable to the ordinary laws of language? The question so posed may seem unnerving at first sight, but in fact does not affect our present thesis that the study of the sacred texts led directly to the birth and growth of scientific Linguistics in India. Scientific Linguistics, like every other science, consists of an inductive and a

deductive part, and of these two the inductive part is by far the more important, comprehending, as it does, practically all the work of finding and arranging the material on which the deductive theory would be based. Now, the finding and arranging of scientific data would be just the same, whether the object of investigation is within or above law. Hence material drawn from Vedic texts is no less amenable to inductive treatment than material drawn from the classical language—even from the orthodox point of view, which regards the language of the Vedas as an emanation, and not as a creation. In fact, till Pāṇini appeared on the scene and gave the growing science of Linguistics a definite deductive turn, it was growing, slowly but surely, as an inductive science. I shall try to indicate here a few steps of that slow progress.

Language in its finished form recognizes only sentences, for sound and sense coincide with each other in no speech-unit shorter than the sentence. The first speech uttered by man consisted, very probably, like that of children, of sentence-words, i.e. words carrying the meaning of whole sentences. With the growth of experience and culture, man learnt to expand his pregnant sentence-words into circumlocutory sentences, in which the ideas intended to be expressed are, as it were, bounded off from the surrounding sea of vague suggestions by a wall of solid sounds. In sentence-words the speaker makes a direct assault on the idea he wants to express and inevitably fails, since idea is by no means convertible into sound. Yet, repeated assaults, though always unsuccessful, end at last in a fixed convention, and a particular sense in course of time comes to be fixed to a particular sound-complex. This much of speculation, I hope, is permissible in dealing with the origin of intelligent speech.

Scientific speculation on speech is, however, a different matter altogether. It begins with the conscious analysis of already developed speech-forms. And the evidence at our disposal clearly shows that in India scientific investigation of speech-forms proceeded not from sentence to sound, but rather from sound to sentence. The grammar of the R̥gvedic language is rigid and complex, yet there is nothing to show that the authors of the R̥gvedic hymns were grammatically conscious. There is no trace in the R̥gveda of a grammatical terminology. But the R̥gvedic authors were supremely conscious of the verse-forms inherited and cultivated by them, and a metrical terminology too had been built up already in the R̥gvedic age. Mystical speculations on metres led to the discovery and isolation of the smallest metrical unit, i.e. the syllable (*akṣara*).

The word *akṣara* literally means 'imperishable' or 'irreducible'. We should stop to think why this word was used by the R̥gvedic authors to signify the syllable. The irreducible speech-element is obviously the sound (*varṇa*) and not the syllable (*akṣara*). But

that only from the view-point of prose. In verse, specially verse of the R̥gvedic type, measured by syllables, it is on the other hand the syllable that is the irreducible element. The R̥gvedic authors were therefore perfectly justified in regarding the syllable as irreducible and naming it as such. How they came to isolate it even before the sound (*varṇa*) and word (*pada*) is also perfectly clear. Nothing was more popular with the Vedic authors than to compare one metre with another, and it is obvious that even a most cursory comparison of a Trīṣṭubh-pāda with a Jagatī-pāda would reveal the existence of something that is constant and irreducible. This constant something they aptly called *akṣara*! It was still a long way to the discovery of what is really the irreducible element in speech, namely the *varṇa* 'sound'. The R̥gvedic authors were perfectly right in so far as the verse-units are concerned, and they had in fact nothing else in view.

The word *varṇa* in the sense of 'sound' occurs for the first time in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (V. 5. 4). The sacred syllable *om* is described here as consisting of the three *varṇas* *a*, *u* and *m*. But why should a word signifying 'colour' be taken to mean 'sound'? No satisfactory explanation of this enigmatic term has yet been found. But I have myself suggested elsewhere a solution of the riddle of this term, and this solution, *faute de mieux*, may be accepted. In the Brāhmaṇas of the Sāmaveda we often come across symbolical expressions like *rathantaravarṇā ṛc*, meaning literally 'verse chanted in the colour of the Rathantara-sāman'. In expressions like this the sound of melody has been clearly likened to colour, and the word *varṇa* is in them clearly changing its meaning from 'colour' to 'sound'. The word signifying 'colour' could not help developing the meaning 'sound' when in constant association with a word meaning 'melody'—this is in short the semasiology of the word *varṇa*.

We have thus indicated the process by which, in all likelihood, the Vedic authors had isolated the syllable, and explained the secondary grammatical meaning of the word *varṇa*. As the syllable is composed of sounds, so is the word (*pada*) composed of syllables. We should therefore now proceed to discuss the discovery of the *pada* as a definite speech-unit, distinct from the *akṣara* on the one hand and the *vākya* on the other. We have seen that the analysis of speech in the earliest period advanced along lines determined more by metrical needs than by considerations of grammar. The correct approach to the problem of the *pada* too, therefore, would be to examine, if this word was originally a metrical term. And we shall find that it too, like *akṣara*, had a metrical connotation before the grammatical. In the earliest sources, *pada* means 'verse-foot', not 'word'. Since verses are generally four-footed, the verse-foot ultimately came to be called *pāda*; but in the older

literature the word for 'verse-foot' is uniformly *pada*. The primary meaning of *pada* is of course 'step'; used in connection with verses it naturally developed the meaning 'verse-foot'—since the verse-feet are indeed the steps by which a verse is completed. Only in the third stage, when *pada* came to be used in the sense of 'unit of prose speech', it came to mean 'word', which is really the unit or 'step' in prose. It is clear therefore that also the important grammatical term *pada* had originally a purely metrical connotation. Of the three basic grammatical terms *akṣara*, *pada* and *varṇa*, the first two were thus of direct metrical origin. Only later they were appropriated by grammar.

In the Saṃhitās, linguistic enquiry was confined to the field of metres, and the grammatical discoveries were the accidental result of metrical observations. Proper grammatical enquiry began only in the Brāhmaṇas, though it would be claiming too much for the Brāhmaṇa authors to say that they had ever achieved a balanced judgment of the two elements constituting a word, namely the sound-element and the sense-element. The sense-element in words was given disproportionate importance in the Brāhmaṇas, and the result was fantastic etymologies scattered in those texts, later collected by Yāska in his Nirukta. Grammar and etymology should obviously observe the same principles of enquiry, yet, in India, it was not so. Etymological enquiry here preceded grammatical enquiry proper, and developed principles of its own, to which the etymologists adhered to the last, even after the science of grammar had been fully developed. Śāntanava's *Phit-sūtra*, referred to already in the Kāśikā, is in principle more an etymological than a grammatical work. The etymologists regarded the meaning as permanent and the sound as merely an outer apparel of the word, while the grammarians tenaciously held the sound-element to be more essential than the sense-part in every word. To the grammarian, meaning only serves to distinguish forms, and the form in his opinion is comparatively stable; but to the etymologist, the form is infinitely mutable, and if there is anything stable in the word, it is its meaning. The two view-points are frankly irreconcilable. It is important to note, however, that in the Brāhmaṇa-texts the etymologists got the better of the grammarians, but the latter attained ascendancy and maintained it ever afterwards when the science of grammar was organized and authoritatively promulgated by Pāṇini.

Before Pāṇini the greatest figure in Indian Linguistics was Yāska, who in his Nirukta has left us what may be called the accumulated etymological knowledge of the age of the Brāhmaṇas. In this age, linguistic enquiry in India was confined mainly to the field of etymology. But it was not scientific etymology. The Brāhmaṇa-authors indulged in wild and amazingly naïve speculation

on practically everything under the sun. Their etymologies were only a part of this wild speculation, and therefore anything but scientific in spirit. More scientific were the speculations of the Brāhmaṇa-authors in their discussion on the appropriateness of verses addressed to particular deities. If a verse contains a hint as to the deity to whom it should be addressed, it is called *nirukta*; otherwise, *anirukta*. This is the earliest sense in which the terms *nirukta* and *anirukta* have been used in the Brāhmaṇas. And the term *nirukti* rather signified the enquiry regarding the relation between a verse and the deity to whom it was addressed. This primary meaning of the term was later changed into 'etymology'. Causes of this fundamental change in the meaning of this word are not apparent. But one thing is certain, and that is that the looseness of thinking exhibited by the Brāhmaṇa-authors was inherited by the etymologists along with that term. The Brāhmaṇa-authors cared little for the grammatical structure of the words they discussed, being wholly engrossed with their meaning. So in the *Nirukta* too, in conformity with this tradition, the form of a word was regarded as secondary and accidental, and the meaning as its essence.

It would be wrong, however, to form an estimate of the linguistic achievements of the Brāhmaṇa-age only from these etymologies, most of which are admittedly fantastic. It may also be asked, if the Brāhmaṇa-authors themselves took these etymologies seriously. When we look to other fields of linguistic enquiry, we shall find, however, convincing proof of real progress, particularly with regard to verbal forms. Proper terminology is altogether wanting, yet in the Brāhmaṇas verbal forms have been mentioned in a way that shows that their secret had been penetrated already. There is nothing to prove that the verbal root had been actually discovered in the age of the Brāhmaṇas, but short of that practically everything had been already done. A man may not know that there is a thing called root, but if he can say that such dissimilar forms as *jāta*, *januṣā* and *aṇjanat* are congeneric, then he will be surely admitted by all as possessing a sound knowledge of the Sanskrit verbal system. This is precisely the position of the Brāhmaṇa-authors. They were fully aware of the interrelation between congeneric verbal forms, however dissimilar they may appear. But the common element in these related forms they had not yet been able to isolate, apparently because that involves postulating forms that generally do not occur at all. There can be no doubt that the Brāhmaṇa-authors already had a full grasp of the pattern of Sanskrit verbal system, but they did not yet dare to indulge in theorizing. It should be mentioned that though in most cases the forms thus grammatically connected with each other are verb-forms, yet there are instances of both verbal and nominal forms being correctly described as congeneric.

This is a remarkable achievement, considering the age of the texts containing these grammatical speculations. And it may well seem prodigious, if we remember further that there is not a single instance of mistake. If these same Brāhmaṇa-texts parade scores of puerile etymologies, the conclusion—hinted at above—becomes irresistible that to the authors themselves they were just speculations and nothing more, perhaps a pastime and diversion like the Brahmodyas. Indeed, etymologies like *kambojāḥ kambalabhojāḥ* or *na kṣatra iti nakṣatraḥ* suggest nothing else.

Complete grasp of the verbal system shown by the Brāhmaṇa-authors proves beyond doubt that they had already learnt to think grammatically. Yet, of a proper grammatical terminology there is hardly any trace in the Brāhmaṇas. The first attempt to supply this deficiency was necessarily awkward. Thus the ponderous term *punarāvṛttam-punarninyttam* is used in the Brāhmaṇas to indicate repetition or alliteration. Real progress in this direction was made only after the Brāhmaṇa-period. The earliest attempts to name and classify scientifically the sounds of the Sanskrit language are to be found in the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka (III. 2. 5) and the Chāndogya-upaniṣad (II. 3-5), where the occlusives (*sparsa*), spirants (*ūṣman*) and vowels (*svara*) have been separately mentioned. The liquids (*antasthā* for later *antaḥsthā*) find mention for the first time only in the Ṛkprātiśākhya (I. 9). In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, the terms for masculine and feminine are still *vṛṣan* and *yoṣā* (IV. 1. 3), but the Śatapatha (X. 5. 1. 2) already knows the later terms *pum*, *strī* and *napuṃsaka*. Of the three numbers, the Śatapatha mentions *ekavacana* and *bahuvacana* (XIII. 5. 1. 18), but the *dvivacana* is mentioned for the first time only in the Atharva-prātiśākhya (I. 7). The difference between the three grammatical persons was clearly stated for the first time by Yāska (VII. 2), though in extremely awkward language, and the three tenses were quite aptly designated *kariṣyat*, *kurvat*, and *kṛta* already in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (IV. 5. 1; IV. 5. 3; V. 1. 1).

The great age of Indian Linguistics was the period from Yāska to Pāṇini. After Pāṇini, the progress of Indian Linguistics has been due chiefly to the pull and thrust of time, and rarely to the achievements of individual genius. This is perhaps due to the fact that unlike Pāṇini the later Sanskrit grammarians had to tackle not a living language, but a dead idiom. So linguistic studies in the post-Pāṇinean age, specially in the field of Sanskrit, became more and more philosophical in character, and gradually lost touch with the living and changing idiom of the day. There is nothing to wonder at in this, for a vigorous linguistic discipline can never be built up on the basis of an Esperanto, though it may throw up any number of interesting linguistic problems for solution. I am not suggesting that nothing was done to take note of the changes coming

over the language. Everyone of the post-Pāṇinian grammatical works on Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit would cry out against any such assertion. What I mean is that, although the language changed fundamentally in vocabulary by absorbing non-Sanskritic elements, yet the tendency persisted to derive everything from Pāṇini's ideal idiom. Sanskrit, from a language like any other, had become the language of the gods, and so words like *mian*, *muluk* and *maulana* had to be—and could be!—explained in terms of Sanskrit grammar. In short, historical sense was altogether lacking. Later in the day, lexicographers tried to supply this deficiency by collecting *deśī* words that were thrusting themselves more and more into literary usage, yet no attempt was made to do for Sanskrit what Hesychius had done for Greek. Hesychius tried to give for each loan-word in Greek the source-language from which it was derived. Thus commenting on the loan-word *mamatrai* in Greek, Hesychius says: 'it signifies Strategoi among the Indians' (*strategoi par' Indois*), and I have not the slightest doubt that Hesychius' *mamatrai* is nothing but Skt. *mahāmātra*—the title, in fact, of the Indian Strategos about the beginning of the Christian era. If we assume further that the word had first become current among the Ionian Greeks, as is, for obvious reasons, almost quite certain, then the syncope of the second syllable in the Greek form would offer no difficulty at all, for the chief characteristic of Ionian is psilosis. Thus Iranian *Hind* became *Ind* in the mouth of the Ionians. In the same way, Skt. *mahāmātra*, in the mouth of the Ionians, had to become *maāmātra*, and then *mamatrai*. The historical vision shown by Hesychius is, however, lacking in our lexicographers, since they were determined to explain every word in terms of Sanskrit grammar. Yet foreign words have been pouring into Sanskrit even from before Sanskrit became definitely characterized as a distinct Indo-Iranian dialect. The name of the god Indra himself, mentioned already in the famous Boghaz-köi inscription, has now turned out to be the thematized form of the HITTITE word *innar*, meaning 'strength'.

It goes without saying, that the borrowing of words is not possible without cultural contact, direct or indirect, with those from whom the words are borrowed. And it is through these borrowed words that language often throws light on the remote past of which history holds no record. To illustrate the point, let us discuss a few Semitic words that have found their way into Sanskrit. The first such word that springs to mind is *asura*. Usually this word is connected with Skt. *asu* 'life', but I suppose none is quite happy about this etymology. From the present-day standpoint of Linguistics, no etymology will be taken seriously unless the phonology of the word concerned is supported all along the line by the history of its meaning. Nobody would today dare to propose etymological equations merely on the basis of forced phonological agreement, as

did, with amazing naïveté, even some top-ranking Scandinavian linguisticians. Connection between *asura* and *asu* is, from the modern standpoint, at the most possible but by no means admissible, since it renders no help in elucidating the meanings the word possessed and developed. But if it is only admitted that the word is nothing but the Aryanized form of the name of the city-god of Aššur, a consistent theory about its meaning can be offered without much difficulty. The history of western Asia in the second millennium B.C. as it is now taking shape in the light of the archaeological discoveries made in that region in course of the first quarter of the present century, clearly shows that the Aryans were present and ruling there about 1500 B.C. Under the circumstances, it would be nothing short of a miracle if the Aryans failed to come under the influence of the superior civilization of the Assyrians, since, it is fully established today, the Assyrians—through trade settlements—dominated the whole of western Asia, from Mesopotamia to Cappadocia, even so early as the middle of the third millennium B.C. In fact, Assyrian history today must begin, not with Assyria itself, but with the Assyrian trade-settlements of Cappadocia. Contact with this far-flung Assyrian people was thus inevitable for the Aryan tribes. As a result of contact with the Assyrians, the religion and culture of the Aryans underwent a profound change. The Indo-European religion seems to have contained no magical element. The gods were prayed to simply on the belief that they, when favourably disposed, would confer boons, but there was no idea of compelling the gods to do the bidding of the supplicants by means of rites and phrases endowed with magical potency. The Assyrians, however, were magic-ridden, and they fully believed in the potency of sacrificial rites to compel their gods to interfere in human affairs in the interest of the worshippers. Most probably, the Aryans learnt from the Assyrians this new way of worshipping the gods, and also borrowed from them the name of their city-god Aššur to designate their own chief gods. It was naturally the more progressive elements among the Aryans that had profited most from contact with the Assyrians, and it was surely they in the main who accepted willingly the Assyrian designation for their chief gods. The less progressive elements continued faithful to the older Daiva-gods of Indo-European antiquity, though the new Asura-religion they could not altogether ignore. Thus occurred the Deva-Asura split among the Aryans. The Asura-worshippers predominated in Iran, and the Daiva-worshippers in India. But since magical power is indispensable in the making of a great god, some of the Deva-gods too, particularly Indra, came to be called Asura in India.

I have tried above to present as briefly as possible the supporting historical arguments in defence of etymologically connecting *asura*

with 'Assyria'. In dealing with other words of probable Assyro-Babylonian provenance I shall have to be still more brief. The Rgvedic word *manā* (a certain weight) has long been connected with Babylonian *manū*, and *niṣka* with Babylonian *nišku*. In the same way may be connected *khāri* with Babylonian *kāru*, *nāga* (tin) with Sumerian *nāggū*, *āra* (metal) with Assyrian *eru*, and *godhūma* with Semitic *ḡanṭim*. I must confess that of these words I feel quite confident only of *godhūma*, for in Iranian *gantuma* we have the indispensable intermediate form, which also suggests the route by which the word travelled to India from the Semitic world. Of the other words I am profoundly distrustful, for in their case we haven't the warrant of history that they were actually borrowed by the Indians from the Semites. There is a striking similarity between Red Indian *potomac* and Greek *potamos*, both meaning 'river', but there can be no question of borrowing here, because history knows of no contact between America and antique Greece. So the similarity between the Sanskrit and the Assyro-Babylonian words mentioned above may be purely accidental. Borrowing can be proved solely on the basis of cultural contact, as in the case of Iran and India, or on the basis of cultural continuity, as in the case of Mycaenean and Akhaian Greece. European archaeologists have fully demonstrated, particularly Ridgeway, that the weights and measures of the Minoan-Mycaenean age continued to be used unchanged also after the Aryan invasion—which means that the culture of pre-Aryan Greece was maintained on the whole even after the Aryan invasion of that country. Cannot our archaeologists decide in the same way whether the Mohenjo-daro civilization continued essentially unchanged even after the Aryan invasion of India? But that is by the way. What I was going to say is that, given the cultural relation between India and the Semitic world as it existed and still exists from the earliest times to the present age, such borrowings should not be surprising at all. The wholly inexplicable word *hrūdu* occurring in the Atharvaveda (I. 25. 2-3) has been explained by Victor Henri as a proto-Semitic loan-word, namely **harūdu* (J.A., 1897, pp. 511-516). The legend of the great deluge in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa is perhaps the best-known instance of Semitic influence on Vedic India. The legend was known in India, apparently, long before the age of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, for 'the peak on the Himālayas from which the ship slid down,' mentioned in the Atharvaveda (XIX. 39. 8), clearly refers to this flood-legend. The passage is: *yatra nāvaprabhramśanam yatra himavataḥ śirah*. Most scholars are agreed today further that the cult of the seven Ādityas is nothing but an Indianized version of the Babylonian cult of seven planets, as Oldenberg insisted. In the Bāveru-Jātaka we have perhaps a direct reference to Babylonia, the Brāhmī script is still admitted to be derived from some Semitic script, and the

name Kharoṣṭī is nothing but the Sanskritized form of the Aramaic word *ḥaroṣeth* 'to engrave'. If we add to this India's enormous debt to Semitic culture in astronomy, perhaps dating from the Vedic times, it will, I am sure, no longer seem improbable that the words *manā*, *niṣka*, etc., were actually borrowed from the Semites.

I shall now discuss the influence of the pre-Aryan languages of India on Indo-Aryan. The first problem that faces us here is the language and civilization of the Mohenjo-daro people. On the whole, enlightened public opinion has come to the conclusion that the Mohenjo-daro civilization should be regarded as pre-Vedic and non-Aryan. Since the Vedic language as we know it cannot be so old as the Mohenjo-daro civilization (*circa* 2500 B.C.), there is no other alternative but to admit that the Mohenjo-daro civilization was pre-Vedic. I repeat, that the Vedic language cannot be so old, because every living language changes, and changes with a speed that can be approximately measured, as in the case of the English language—from Chaucer to Shakespeare, from Shakespeare to Byron, and from Byron to Shaw. The Old Persian inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. give us the earliest picture of a definitely datable Aryan language, and calculating back from this language it is possible to arrive at an approximate date for the language of the Avestan Gāthās, which is admittedly on the same stage of evolution as the language of the Rgveda. And the date thus reached hardly takes us beyond 1000 B.C.! Vedic culture is certainly older, but certainly not older by 1500 years. So it must be admitted that the Mohenjo-daro civilization was pre-Vedic. But it is another question whether this civilization was Aryan or non-Aryan.

Hitherto in our discussion, we have tried at every step to strengthen the argument from language by suggestive data from cultural history—fully in the belief that this is the only true method of linguistic enquiry. In judging the Mohenjo-daro problem, however, we shall have to do without any assistance from language. The data of cultural history must be our only guide here. But such data do offer us suggestions we are looking for. We know that Paśupati was one of the gods worshipped by the Mohenjo-daro people, and this may seem to show that the Vedic civilization was continuous with the Mohenjo-daro civilization, specially if we remember that under the name Rudra, this god was worshipped by the Rgvedic Aryans. But the Rgvedic hymns depict the religion and culture of the priestly classes only. In popular religion Rudra's position was altogether different, as we know already from the oldest Brāhmaṇas, which repeatedly caution the sacrificer against inviting Rudra or pronouncing his name. There can be no doubt that Rudra was a god of aversion to the Vedic Aryans, and the reason can only be that he was a god of the hostile aborigines. The Śatarudriya was evidently the outcome of fear felt by the Aryans

in pronouncing his name, and it is not without significance that the *Mimāṃsists* of a much later age permitted even to non-Traivarnikas the worship of the dreaded god Rudra. This, I think, is proof sufficient that the Vedic Aryans regarded Rudra as an alien god,—which is to say that the Rudra-worshipping Mohenjo-daro people were not Aryans. We must conclude, therefore, that they were the—or one of the—pre-Aryan peoples of India.

The hesitation I felt in formulating the last sentence was not unintentional, for we have abundant proof of the existence of at least two widely-spread speech-families in pre-Aryan India, namely the Austric and the Dravidian. To which of these two—or if to any one of them—the language of the Mohenjo-daro people belonged, cannot be decided with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. The likelihood, however, cannot be denied that the language of Mohenjo-daro should have belonged to one of these two speech-families, and perhaps it is possible to argue that one of these two has a better claim than the other to be regarded as the language of Mohenjo-daro. Dravidian is an isolated language-group in India, without any discoverable affinity with any language outside: I say this downright, in spite of well-known attempts to prove the contrary, for the said attempts are absolutely unscientific and fantastic. But it is otherwise with Austric. Over a great part of south-east Asia the Austric speech in various forms is spoken today, and no part of India is without Austric speech-pockets. Even Burushaski, a dialect of extreme north-west, shows definite points of similarity with Austric. And yet Austric cannot be regarded as the original language of south-east Asia, for we have in Andamanese, surrounded on all sides by Austric and Dravidian idioms, a language that is neither Austric nor Dravidian—which may be therefore regarded as a descendant of the original language of Austronesia.

It will now be possible, perhaps, to attempt an answer to the question raised above, viz.: which of the two pre-Aryan speech-families of India is older. It seems to me that the answer cannot but be in favour of Dravidian. Dravidian presents the picture of a receding and contracting speech-family, and there is nothing to suggest that it was ever transplanted from elsewhere to the soil in which it now has its roots. Whereas Austric comes as a deluge, fills up the vacant spaces, overflows the land, and then passes out into the islands of the ocean. The Uralic connections of Austric, stressed by Hevesy, cannot be brushed aside as altogether improbable. To all appearance, the Dravidians were the Akhaians of pre-Aryan India, the Austrics its Dorians. It is difficult to imagine them in interchanged rôles. To assume that the Dravidians were the later invaders and the Austrics the earlier settled population of India, is to suggest that the Dravidians suddenly lost their power of locomotion after reaching India, and that the Austrics started on their

career of conquest only after sustaining defeat at the hands of the Dravidians!

From these considerations it would certainly seem best to conclude that the Dravidians were the earlier of the two pre-Aryan races of India. And, considering the nature of the Mohenjo-daro civilization with its advanced city-life, which was—and still is to a large extent—unknown among the Austriacs, we should further concede, that it is they, and not the Austriacs or any other people, who built up the prehistoric Mohenjo-daro civilization of India. This civilization flourished in the west until the advent of the Aryans, but in the east it was destroyed earlier by the Austriacs radiating from their original home, supposed to have been situated in Indo-China.

There is a curious thing about the relation between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Rarely does the sound-system of one language deeply affect that of another. But Dravidian has apparently influenced the Indo-Aryan sound-system in more ways than one. None of the Indo-European-dialects is so poor in spirants as Sanskrit, and linguisticians of an earlier generation were misled by the example of Sanskrit into asserting, even for the original Indo-European, an almost spirantless sound-system. But spirants are far more natural in pronunciation than pure occlusives, since even a very little less or very little more of energy than is just required in pronouncing a pure occlusive converts it into a spirant. All the other Indo-European dialects, including Iranian, possess a sufficient quota of spirants in their sound-systems, but Sanskrit is almost spirantless. This peculiarity of Sanskrit, strangely overlooked even by many modern linguisticians, requires explanation. And the obvious explanation that suggests itself is the influence of Dravidian, of which one of the chief characteristics is admittedly just this poverty of spirants. Dravidian influence should therefore be held responsible not only for the cerebral sounds of Indo-Aryan, but also for its poverty of spirants, unless of course, putting the cart before the horse as of old, we acquiesce in the unwarranted assumption that the consonant system described by Sanskrit grammarians can be accepted, practically without any modification, also for the original Indo-European.

ONOMATOPOEIA IN PĀLI

By MADHUSUDAN MALLIK

Onomatopoeia or sound-imitation played an important rôle in the formative period of most languages. It is difficult to account for their origin, which may be due to the specific ejaculations from joy, bewilderment, hatred, etc. (cf. pooh-pooh theory), to reflex utterances after physical action (cf. ye-he-ho theory), to mysterious coincidence between sense and sound (cf. ding-dong theory), to imitations of certain objects in a certain way (cf. bow-wow theory).

Noiré has emphatically asserted that the origin of all words can be traced to the interjectional cries of primitive men. True that the origin of onomatopoeic words can be traced to imitation of sounds or movements in nature, still they are never more than approximations to nature. Had there been any real correspondence between the sign and the thing symbolized, onomatopoeic words would have been the same in all languages of the world. The flowing sound of a river is indicated in English by 'gurgling', of which the French form is 'glou-glou' and the Bengali expression 'kal-kal'. Neither do the phonetic changes exactly correspond with the natural sound. Despite the fact that onomatopoeic words are less subject to phonetic laws than conventional symbols, yet modifications intervene at times. These are liable to lose entirely their imitative values (cf. vulgar Latin *Pipio* which was changed into pigeon in French).

Reduplication is generally seen to be an accompanying factor, yet it is not the only criterion of a single mode or category of expression varying between plurality, frequency, intensity and the like.

In the embryonic stage of the language onomatopoeic words, interjections, reduplicating symbols were in all likelihood characterized by a multitude number. With the advance of civilization and culture, the dwindling of their number set in and in the modern advanced and analytical stage of civilization, no appreciable rôle is being enacted. What happens is that the mutual relationship is being expressed by an accidental or casual connection.

We are not in a position to obtain an accurate idea of these primitive sounds. Creation in the domain of language is conspicuous by its absence. As far as we can, to the best of our ability, do, is to postulate a phonetic system upon which depended the coinage of a particular word in question. The vocabulary of a child is often assigned as the breeding ground and convenient storehouse of lexicographical creation. The child in spite of its vain skill and ingenuity to coin words succeeds in establishing the fact that the creations are no more than real acquisitions. Herein lies the similarity or akinness of the sounds in different languages (cf. English

cock-a-doodle-do, French coquerico, Greek kikeriki, Danish kykeliky to English quack-quack, French cancan, Danish raprap). These imperfect representations of natural cries are convenient to a child rather than to utter an altogether new sound.

The Indo-Aryan languages in India are characterized by a large number of onomatopoeic words in their vocabulary. This is probably due to the non-Aryan influence especially the Austric and the Dravidian languages, both of which display a variety of forms. The new Indo-Aryan languages show a remarkable propinquity in this direction. Bengali as a new Indo-Aryan language shows such peculiar formations as have no apparent relation to the sound echoing the sense.

The middle Indo-Aryan languages represented by Pāli and Prakrits came into intimate and close contact with a number of non-Aryan races. As a necessary corollary echo-words and words known as 'deśī' came to be adopted in Pāli.

The peculiar feature of Pāli onomatopoeic words is that they cannot be traced to Sanskrit. They are of local or native origination. Although a complete list of these words has not yet been compiled and systematically studied, yet from stray references in Buddhistic literature we cannot undermine their influence.

Onomatopoeic words fall under various groups, according to the different modes of treatment. They may be classified as follows:—

- (1) As objects, (2) As indicating animals supposed to utter them, (3) As Nouns, (4) As Verbs, and (5) As Interjections.

(1) As Objects—*Kakaca*, a saw (probably from the sound of sawing a tree: Skt. Krakaca); *kinkinika*, a small bell (from the sound particle *kini*); *dindima*, a musical instrument, a small drum (Skt. *diṇḍima*, cf. also *duṇḍubhi*); *duṇḍubhi*, a kettle-drum (cf. *duddabha*).

(2) As indicating animals supposed to utter them—*Kāka*, a crow (from its very utterance of the sound *kā kā*, Skt. *kāka*, a crow); *kākola* or *kākoḷa*, a raven specially in its quality as bird of prey, feeding on carrion (cf. Skt. *kākola*, a raven); *kikī*, a kind of bird (after the sound of the bird, cf. Skt. *krka-vāku*, a cock); *kukkuṭa*, a hen (cf. Skt. *kukkuṭa*, Lat. *cucurio*, Ger. *kikeriki*); *koka*, a wolf (from a peculiar sound the animal is supposed to make, not identical with *koka*, a cuckoo); *kokila*, a cuckoo (cf. Skt. *koka*, a kind of goose, also cuckoo with *kokila* as its derivative, cf. also Gr. *kokkux*, Lat. *cuculus*, Eng. cuckoo, Drav. *kyil*); *jīvam-jīvaka*, a kind of bird akin to pheasant, distinguished by a peculiar note which it strikes and corresponds, to our surprise, to sounds allied to *jīvam-jīva* (cf. Jaina phrase *jīvañjīveṇāgacchai*, *jīvañjiveṇa citthai*); *susuka*, alligator, also sound made by a young peacock; *hukku*, noise made by

a jackal (cf. Mārāṭhi huki, hukki hukā 'cry of jackal', Beng. hukkā huā, Hindi hukukā 'crying, sobbing').

(3) As Nouns—*kalakala*, a confused noise, the flowing sound of a river (cf. Beng. kal kal); *kolāhala*, uproar, tumult (cf. Beng. kolāhala); *daddara*, a grinding sound (cf. Skt. dardara, Beng. dar-dar); *daddabha*, a thud, indistinct noise (from the falling of a large fruit); *mammana*, stuttering, stammering (cf. Skt. murmura and murmurā, Lat. murmur, cf. also babbhara); *milakkha* (mleccha) a barbarian, foreigner, an outcast, a hillman (probably from the strange sound of a foreigner, a variant milakkhu also occurs); *murmura*, burning chaff, hot ashes, crackling fire (cf. Skt. murmur, lit. rustling, crackling, cf. also Lat. murmur, Eng. murmur, Gr. marmuro 'to rustle', Ohg. murmurōn and murmueōn, Ger. murmeln); *murumura*, grinding sound (from the crackling sound of the teeth when biting bones, sound root \sqrt{mr}); *babbhara*, certain brisk sounds (a reduplicated formation of bhara-bhara which is ultimately contracted into babbhara, cf. also sara-sara, Beng. bhaḍ-bhaḍ, Mārāṭhi bhara-bhara); *sassara*, rustling of a snake through the bushes or along the ground (a contracted form of sara-sara); *halā-hala*, a kind of deadly poison, uproar, tumult (cf. Beng. halāhal); *huhunika*, uttering hum hum, i.e. rough sound (generally spoken of a Brahmin proud of his caste, cf. Skt. Om); *surusuru*, Gogerly 'sucking up food', Childers, 'a word imitative of the sound made when curry or rice is eaten hastily'. (In *Sutta-Nipāta* it represents the drinking of milk); *capucapu*, smacking the lips, grunting at stool (cf. Beng. chap-chap); *ghuru-ghuru*, snoring like a pig, a crunching sound in eating raw flesh (cf. murumuru); *khala-khala*, noisy sound, chattering, translator of Vinaya Texts 'harsh tones' (cf. Skt. khaṭa-khaṭāya 'to spring or issue forth with a noise', Mārāṭhi khaṭkhaṭa 'fuss, bother, altercation, cf. also Beng. khaṭ-khaṭ').

(4) As Verbs—*cicciṭāyati*, to hiss (cf. Beng. ciṭ-ciṭ, a syncopated form of ciciṭāyati); *taṭataṭāyati*, to shake, rattle, make sound like taṭ-taṭ, spoken of a person when enraged or in fury or frenzy, to grind or gnash one's teeth, cf. also ciciṭāyati); *bilibilikā*, to tittle-tattle (cf. Beng. bid-bid); *kinakinayati*, rings (cf. also kinikinayati); *gaggārāyati*, gurgles (from Skt. gargara); *ghurughurāyati*, shores (Skt. ghuraghurāyate); *tintināyati*, groans, sighs; *galagalāyati*, trickles (cf. Beng. gaḍ-gaḍ); *dhamadhamāyati*, roars, hums; *daddabhāyati*, crackles.

(5) As Exclamation—*amma*, child language (Skt. amba, cf. Gr. amma 'mother', Oisl. amma 'granny', Ohg. amma 'mummy', also Lat. amita 'father's sister' and amare 'to love', Fr. amour 'love'); *ahaha*, exclamation of astonishment and excitement (cf. Skt. lalatta, Gr. lalēō, Lat. lallo, Eng. lull, Ger. lallen, Agr. hola, cf. also re. its shortened or abbreviated form); *su*, sound of scaring away undesired elements, usually repeated 'su su', hissing of a snake (cf. susuka).

SOME CRITICS OF ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S THEORY OF DHVANI

By K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

At about the beginning of the ninth century A.D., several schools of literary criticism prevailed in Kashmir, and in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* we see an attempt made for the first time to set forth a theory of poetry assimilating all the essentials found in the various schools, and at the same time presenting a new explanation of all the problems. Already, by the time of Ānandavardhana, a theory of Suggestion regarding literature had been current for some time in literary circles, in however vague a form, and it was being ridiculed by orthodox critics.¹ It was as a spokesman and foremost representative of this new school of thought that Ānandavardhana wrote his *Dhvanyāloka*. Being a typical product of that age of polemics, the *Dhvanyāloka* was written in a highly contentious and argumentative style. Though in one sense, the *Dhvanyāloka* is an eclectic work, it does not go the whole hog with any of the earlier theories. It presupposes the *modus operandi* of *Rasa* taught by Bharata and adopts his very terminology but at the same time it considers *Rasa* only in relation to *Guṇa*, *Alaṅkāra*, *Doṣa* and other rhetorical concepts. It implicitly borrows the scheme of *Alaṅkāras* as taught by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, recognizes that they are beautifying elements in poetry, but introduces one condition—that they should be in harmony with *Rasa*. Similarly, the concept of *Guṇas*, *Rīti*, *Vṛtti* and *Samghaṭanā* are referred to and accepted subject to the condition of assisting *Rasa-dhvani*. The linguistic analysis of grammarians and logicians is adopted, only to be modified so as to suit the uniqueness of poetry. Other schools of thought too come in only for review. Thus, in its very nature, the *Dhvanyāloka* could not satisfy completely the sentiments of any single school of thought or discipline of rhetoric, excepting a section of literary connoisseurs (*Sahridayas*).² And instead of stopping the controversy about literary theories once and for all time, it gave a fresh impetus for further discussion with a greater zest. Commentators on Bharata's *Nāṭya-sāstra*, like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, wrote elaborate books³ to disprove Ānandavardhana's theory that *Rasa*

¹ For an elaboration of this point see my article: 'Germs of the Theory of Dhvani', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1948.

² Cf. तेन ब्रूमः सङ्ख्येयमनःप्रीतये तत्सङ्ख्येयम् । —*Dhvanyāloka*, I. d.

..सङ्ख्येयानामागन्तो मनसि लभतां प्रतिष्ठाति प्रकाशते । —*Vṛtti* thereon.

³ Cf. The *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*.

is always suggested; followers of orthodox disciplines of rhetoric like Pratihārendurāja tried their best to defend their system by bringing *Dhvani* under one or another figure of speech. Logicians like Jayanta Bhaṭṭa and Mahimabhaṭṭa too joined in the attack against the *Dhvani*-theory and the latter wrote a long polemical treatise with the only object of demolishing the doctrine of *Dhvani*. Independent writers like Kuntaka sought to exhibit greater originality than Ānandavardhana by offering new explanations of *Dhvani*. There arose text-book writers like Viśvanātha and Jagannātha who took objection to points of detail in the *Dhvanyāloka*. That even such an implicit follower of Ānandavardhana as Mammaṭa thought it better to avoid the very mention of *Dhvani* in his definition of poetry is clear enough to show how this controversy had done considerable damage to the theory of *Dhvani* as formulated by Ānandavardhana and elaborated by Abhinavagupta. In this article, it is attempted to give an account of the various criticisms levelled against the *Dhvanyāloka*; a consideration of the *Vyaktiviveka* and the *Hydayadarpaṇa*, however, is omitted here since these have received exclusive and exhaustive treatment by the present writer elsewhere.¹

All that has come down to us of the controversies about *Dhvani* prior to the composition of the *Dhvanyāloka*, is a single stray verse quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* itself. As to the fact that it comes from the pen of a poet called Manoratha, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana himself,² we have Abhinavagupta's clear testimony in the *Locana*. The verse abounds in biting sarcasm. It states :

'A poem which contains nothing of a delightful kind, which does not have figures of speech, not even the merit of glittering expression, and which is totally devoid of *vakrokti*s—who else but an ignoramus can praise such a poem as possessing *Dhvani*? And one is at a loss to imagine what reply he would give when a sharp-witted man puts him a straight question about the nature of *Dhvani* itself.'³

¹ Vide : (i) 'Mahimabhaṭṭa's strictures against the theory of *Dhvani*', *The Half-Yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, March, 1949.

(ii) 'Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of *Rasa* and censure of *Dhvani* as reviewed by Abhinavagupta', *The Journal of the University of Bombay*, September, 1948.

² For a discussion about Manoratha, vide my article, 'Ānandavardhana, his date and works,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, Nos. 3-4.

³ Viz. : यस्मिन्नस्ति न वस्तु किञ्चन मनःप्रज्ञादि साक्षरुति

युत्पन्ने रचितं च नैव वचनेर्वक्तोक्तिशून्यं च यत् ।

काव्यं तद् ध्वनिना समन्वितमिति प्रीत्या प्रशंसञ्ज्वो

नो विद्वोभिदधाति किं सुमतिना प्रष्टुः स्वरूपं ध्वनेः ॥ —*Dhv.*, pp. 26-7.

(The abbreviated form *Dhv.* has been used to stand for the *Dhvanyāloka*. Page references are to the *Kashi Sanskrit Series* Edn., 1940.)

According to Manoratha, then, the idea of *Dhvani* is nothing but nonsense born in the perverted minds of some ignoramuses. He is of opinion that whatever beauty there can be in a poem comes under one or another kind of the well-known figures of speech and that it is idle to claim any new kind of poetic charm for pieces lacking in *alankāras*. The verse gives striking expression to all the contempt and scorn characteristic of a contemporary traditionalist towards a new-fangled notion.

If Manoratha's verse indicates the boundless contempt of a senior contemporary of Ānandavardhana towards the *Dhvani*-theory, Jayantabhaṭṭa's summary criticism of it in his *Nyāyamañjarī* manifests the same attitude shared by a younger contemporary. Jayantabhaṭṭa was a reputed logician of Kashmir who composed an elaborate treatise on the tenets of the *Nyāya* System and who endeavoured to repudiate the views of other systems which did not agree with the tenets of *Nyāya*. He thinks that the newly preached theory of *Dhvani* does not deserve any serious notice at all. He laughs at the very idea that poets, of all persons, should propose solutions to problems concerning words and their import, problems that have eluded satisfactory solution even at the hands of the most learned of logicians.¹ He ridicules Ānandavardhana as a *panditamanya*, a man who makes a pretence for scholarship which he does not possess. He notes the first two instances of *Vastu-Dhvani* cited by Ānandavardhana,² and contents himself with the remark that the fact can be explained more satisfactorily by regarding the so-called suggested meaning as being conveyed by the primary function of words with the assistance of other *pramānas*, particularly *anumāna* or inference.³ Jayantabhaṭṭa's criticism has been hedged in between his refutation of the two views of *Mīmāṃsakas* that

¹ Cf. अथवा नेहशो चर्चा कविभिः सद्यः शोभते ।

विद्वांसोऽपि विमुञ्चन्ति वाक्यार्थगदनेऽध्वनिः ॥

Also : तदलमनया गोष्ठ्या विद्वज्जनोचितया चिरं,

परमगहनसार्कज्ञानासभूमिरयं नयः ।

—*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 45 (*Kaśhī Sanskrit Series*).

² एतेन शब्दसामर्थ्यमहिम्ना सोऽपि वारितः ।

यस्यैतः पक्षितस्यैतः प्रपेदे कश्चन ध्वनिः ॥

विधेर्निषेधावगतिर्विधिबुद्धिर्निषेधतः ।

‘भम भूमिश्च बीसत्तो,’ ‘मा स्म पान्य गृहं विश’ ॥

—*Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 45 (*Kaśhī Sanskrit Series*).

³ मानान्तरपरिच्छेदावस्तुरूपोपदेशिनाम् ।

शब्दानामेव सामर्थ्यं तत्र तत्र तथा तथा ॥

—*Loc. cit.*

Arthāpatti (Implication) and *Abhāva* (Non-apprehension) should be regarded as independent *pramāṇas* or instruments of valid knowledge. In Jayantabhaṭṭa's view, *Dhvani* occupies almost the same place as that of *Arthāpatti* and, therefore, the criticisms levelled against the latter, will, in his opinion, apply *mutatis mutandis* in regard to *Dhvani* too. Just as *Arthāpatti* is shown to be nothing more than a kind of inference, *Dhvani* also will be another kind of inference only. He kills two birds with one stone by positing that words with their well-known functions are enough to explain all meanings, got through some *pramāṇa* or another. Variety in meaning is due, in other words, to the variety of the *pramāṇas* that assist in the grasp of the meaning, not to the variety of functions (*vyāpāra*) of a word. It will be seen that Jayanta criticizes the theory of *Dhvani* only incidentally, in the course of his attack on the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā. What interests us, however, is the low opinion he has about the capacity of poets like Ānandavardhana to speak with authority on such abstruse subjects as the import of words.

The next critic of the *Dhvanyāloka* who deserves to be noticed here is Pratihāra-Indurāja, the writer of a commentary called *Laghu-vṛtti* on Udbhata's *Kāvyaśālikāra-sārasaṅgraha*. Though but a commentator, and though Udbhata's work contains absolutely no reference to *Dhvani*, Pratihāra-Indurāja goes off at a tangent to prove at considerable length how the newly-preached theory of *Dhvani* can be explained in terms of the *śālikāras* themselves. Whether this Pratihāra-Indurāja is identical with Bhāṭṭa-Indurāja, the preceptor of Abhinavagupta, is still a mooted point amongst scholars.¹ There is no doubt that they should have lived about the same time; but in view of the fact that Abhinavagupta's preceptor was an adherent of the *Dhvani*-theory whereas Pratihārendurāja was its opponent, it would appear that the two were distinct persons. Pratihārendurāja, though he professes to explain Udbhata's text, is seen very often to hold independent views. Thus, while Udbhata regards *Rasa* as only an *śālikāra*,² Indurāja emphatically quotes with approval a stanza which states that *Rasa* is the soul of poetry.³ And in opposition to Udbhata's view that *Guṇas* and *Śālikāras* are almost on a par,⁴ Indurāja believes with Vāmana that *Guṇas* are

¹ Cf. Dr. S. K. De, MM. P. V. Kane and N. D. Banhatti, editor of Udbhata's work in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*.

² For details, see my article: 'Ānandavardhana's treatment of *Śālikāra* in relation to *Dhvani*', *Indian Culture*, Vol. XIV, No. 4.

³ रसादधिष्ठितं काव्यं जीवद्रूपतया यतः ।

कथ्यते तद्रसादीनां काव्यात्मनं व्यवस्थितम् ॥

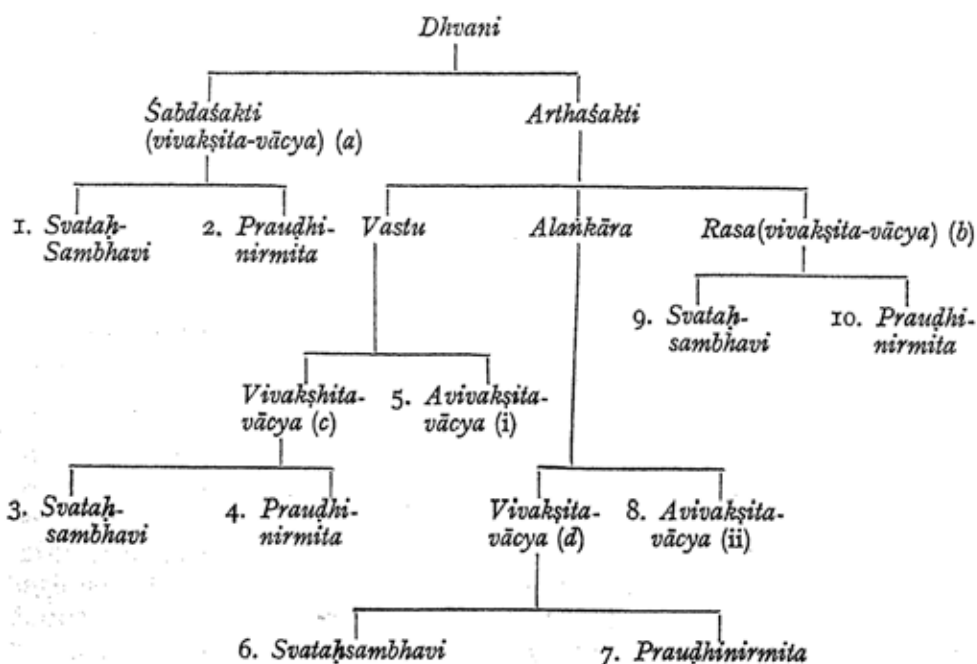
—*Laghu-vṛtti* on the *Kāvyaśālikāra-Saṅgraha* (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*), p. 83.

⁴ उद्भटादिभिस्तु गुणाश्चकाराणां प्रायशः साम्यमेव सूचितम् ।

—Ruyyaka's *Śālikārasarvasva*, p. 7 (K. M. Edn.).

more intrinsic to poetry than *Alaṅkāras*.¹ So there is nothing surprising in Indurāja's attempt to bring all the important varieties of *Dhvani* under figures of speech.

Indurāja alludes to a scheme of classification of *Dhvani*, which is slightly different from Ānandavardhana's but which includes all the varieties mentioned by the latter. Indurāja's scheme consisting of twenty varieties is as follows:—



These ten varieties are further said to be two-fold, i.e. in *pada* and *vācya* and hence the total number is twenty. The four broad varieties of *vivakṣita-vācya*, (marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) in the above table) are said to come under the figure of speech *Paryāyokta*. The two main varieties of *avivakṣita-vācya* (marked (i) and (ii) in the table) are brought under the figure *aprastuta-praśamsā*.² Thus taking the very instances of *Dhvani* cited by Ānandavardhana,³ Indurāja remarks that they are subsumed under one of these two *alaṅkāras*, or some other *alaṅkāra* like *Rasavad*, *Preyas*, *Ūrjasvin*, *Udātta*, *Nidarśanā* and *Śleṣa*. What strikes us most while reading Indurāja is the fact that he accepts the principle of *Dhvani* and

¹ *Laghuvṛtti*, p. 82.

² अतश्च पर्यायोक्ताप्रस्तुतप्रशंसयोरेव यथाक्रमं विवक्षिताविवक्षितवाच्ययोः सर्वध्वनिभेदसामान्यभूतयोर्ध्वनि-भेदयोरन्तर्गतत्वात् । — *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

³ Cf. *Dhv.*, p. 225, pp. 167-8, p. 261, p. 137, p. 246, p. 175 with *Laghuvṛtti*, pp. 85-92.

even its divisions while trying to point out that the beauty of the instances of *Dhvani* is due to the presence of one *alaṅkāra* or another. It is indeed a very strange position that Indurāja has taken up. Very often he indulges in what look like self-contradictions. He believes that *Rasa* is the soul of poetry, its body being *śabda* and *artha*. He also knows that *Rasa*, being the soul, is *alaṅkārya* (what is ornamented) and not an *alaṅkāra* (an ornament).¹ Yet he has no hesitation in regarding *Rasavad* as an *alaṅkāra*. His attitude towards *Dhvani* also is analogous to his uncertain attitude towards *Rasa*. Indurāja is concerned more with showing that Udbhaṭa's work is not open to the charge of omission, than with disproving the theory of *Dhvani* as explained by Ānandavardhana. Thus Pratihara Indurāja's remarks have for us only a historical importance. No wonder he found no followers in subsequent writers.

To the same period also belongs the *Daśarūpaka*, a work on Dramaturgy by Dhanañjaya. Dhanika, who was not much separated from Dhanañjaya in point of time, has written a learned commentary called *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka*. He also seems to have written an independent treatise on poetry called *Kāvya-nirṇaya*, from which he frequently quotes. Though expressly a work on dramaturgy, the *Daśarūpaka* touches upon the problem of *Rasa* which is common to both drama and poetry. Dhanañjaya, in his exposition of *Rasa* follows Bharata in the main and his position that *Rasa* is aesthetic pleasure enjoyed only by the spectator and that it cannot be said to exist in the hero or the actor closely resembles the view of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.² He also follows Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in holding that the *vibhāvas*, etc., shed their individual associations and get universalized in literature.³ Only Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's expression, *Bhoga*, is replaced by the word *svāda* in Dhanañjaya's explanation of the nature of *Rasa*.⁴ Dhanañjaya thus may be said to be a follower of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his interpretation of Bharata. But like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Dhanañjaya does not disprove Ānandavardhana's theory. Dhanika, however, tries to supply this omission on the part of Dhanañjaya. At considerable length he sums up the position of Ānandavardhana and then refutes it. Dhanika states clearly that the relation of poetry to *Rasa* is one of *bhāvya-bhāvaka-bhāva* and not *vyāṅgya-vyāñjaka-bhāva*.⁵ He works out

¹ Cf. *Laghuvṛtti*, p. 83.

² Cf. *The Daśarūpaka* (published by the Gujerati Printing Press, Bombay), IV. 37-39, 42.

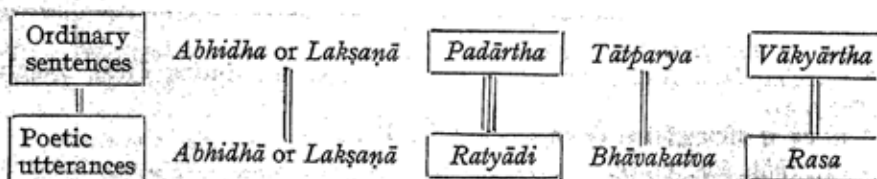
³ ता एव च परित्यक्तविशेषा रसचेतवः । —*Ibid.*, IV. 41.

⁴ Cf., *Ibid.*, IV. 43-45.

⁵ सतो न रसादीनां कायेन सह व्यङ्ग्यव्यञ्जकभावः । किं तर्हि ? भाव्यभावकसम्बन्धः । कार्यं हि भावकम् । भाव्या रसादयः । ते हि स्वतोऽभवन् एव....कायेन भाव्यते ।

—*The Daśarūpakāvaloka*, p. 158.

the implications of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's remarks. *Vyañjanā* is said to be a supernumerary *vyāpāra* since the *sthāyibhāvas* in a poem are not suggested but only signified. Dhanika is of opinion that *Tātparya* or purport which plays a part in ordinary statements, also plays a similar part in statements of poetry. Following Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Dhanika tries to show how the *Mīmāṃsā* concept of *Bhāvanā* can be made to apply to literature also. In every sentence, the predicate is the most important element as conveying the main intention of the speaker. The verb may be expressed in a sentence (as in *gām abhyājā*) or it may be left to be understood by the speaker (as in *dvāraṃ dvāraṃ*). Even in such instances as the latter where the verb is unexpressed, the meaning is understood because of the *tātparya-śakti* or purport. In the same way the main thing (*Kārya*) to be communicated in a poetic statement is aesthetic pleasure (*svānanda*). And pleasure we know, can be communicated only through the medium of *Ratyādis*. These *Ratyādis* may be expressed in so many words (as in *Prītyai navoḍhā prīyā*) or they may be left unexpressed. Even when they are left unexpressed, the expressed words will be sufficient to convey them through *Tātparya-śakti*. Just as the final drift (*vākyārtha*) of every sentence (vedic or non-vedic) is *Kriyā* or predication, whether expressed explicitly or not, so also the final drift (*vākyārtha*) of every poetic utterance is *Ratyādis* as heightened by *vibhāvas*, etc. (i.e. *Rasa*). And in view of the purpose of poetry, the *vibhāvas*, etc., may be looked upon as corresponding to *padārthas* (or meanings of individual words). In other words, Dhanika thinks that corresponding to *Tātparya-śakti* in all sentences (which is different from *śabda-vyāpāras* like *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣanā*), there is *Bhāvakatva* in poetic utterances; but there is no independent *śabda-vyāpāra* such as *vyañjanā*. He feels that this explanation will also show why only *sahṛdayas* can enjoy poetry and why *Abhidhā* and *Lakṣanā* also enter into relationship with poetry. Since *Bhāvakatva* is an essential element in poetry, only *Sahṛdayas* who can recognize it can enjoy *Rasa*. And since *Rasa* (which is *Bhāvya*) corresponds to *vākyārtha* or *Tātparya*, it can be understood only through the medium of *padārthas* (which are either primary or secondary). Dhanika's explanation, then, can be summed up as follows:—



Whereas Ānandavardhana thinks that in a sentence the scope of each *vyāpāra*, *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣanā* and *Tātparya* ceases as soon

as their meanings are signified, Dhanika holds that their scope does not cease. In other words, through *Tātparya*, *Abhidhā* or *Lakṣaṇā* itself functions till the *vākyārtha* is understood. Dhanika says that there is nothing which can restrict the unlimited scope of *Tātparya*. Thus in the instance *Bhrama Dhārmika*, etc.,¹ Ānandavardhana thinks that *Abhidhā* ceases as soon as the meaning of *Vidhi* (i.e. 'freely do wander') is denoted and it is powerless to denote the meaning of *Niṣedha* (i.e. 'do not venture to come'). But Dhanika says that since the intention (*vivakṣā* or *tātparya*) of the speaker is *niṣedha*, *abhidhā* itself is powerful enough to denote that meaning too.²

Thus it will be seen that Dhanika was an implicit follower of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who tried to demonstrate the needlessness of accepting *vyāñjanā* as a third *vyāpāra*. He, too, asserts categorically the all-important nature of *Rasa* in poetry and takes objection only to its explanation in terms of *Dhvani*. Ingenious as his explanation of *Tātparya* was, still it could not enlist the support of any great writer in the history of Sanskrit poetics. We find echoes of this view, however, in the voluminous work *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja,³ in Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśa*⁴ and in Kumārasvāmin's *Ratnā-pana*, a commentary on the *Pratāparudra-Yasobhūṣana*.⁵

Next we may pass on to Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*. Kuntaka's place is unique in the history of Sanskrit Poetics. Perhaps a younger contemporary of Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka knew the theory of *Dhvani* and was not entirely dissatisfied with it. Endowed as he was with a refined taste for poetry and a sound sense of values, he found that Ānandavardhana's analysis of *Dhvani*, as well as elaboration of *Rasa-aucitya* was perfectly justified. But he was not prepared to go the whole hog with Ānandavardhana when it came to a summary rejection of all *alaṅkāras*, so ably expounded by the ancients, as of little or no importance. He could not bring himself to say, as Ānandavardhana had said, that all the ancient writers on *Alaṅkāra* had entirely missed the truth about poetry. Kuntaka knew, at the same time, that the restricted application of particular figures, or *Guṇas* or *Ritis* could never do justice to all the manifold instances of poetry. He therefore wanted to demonstrate a new universal principle of poetry capable of the widest application. According to Kuntaka, *Dhvani* in itself could not be

¹ See *Dhv.*, p. 52.

² See *Daśarūpakāvaloka*, pp. 149-159.

³ Cf. Dr. V. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 170.

⁴ अतो ध्वन्याख्यातात्पर्यगम्यमानत्वतः स्वतः ।

काव्ये रसालङ्क्रियादिः वाक्यार्थो भवति स्फुटम् ॥

—p. 150 (*Gaekwar Oriental Series*).

⁵ Cf. *The Ratnāpana*, pp. 32-33 (*Bālamānoraṁā Sanskrit Series*).

an adequate explanation of poetry since it invariably had to take the assistance of the other elements. Taking his cue from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who had referred to the wide principle of *Vakrokti* or *Atiśayokti* as underlying all figures of speech, Kuntaka tried to give it even a wider significance by bringing under its fold even the principles of *Dhvani* and *Rasa-aucitya*. He is not a slavish follower of either the ancient *alanikāra*-school or the new *Dhvani*-school; at the same time he is also not an unsparing critic of either school. Kuntaka, therefore, may be regarded as an eclectic writer who incorporates into his work the merits of both the schools. But whereas his criticism of the ancients is more pointed and frequent,¹ it may be said that he hardly criticizes the *Dhvani*-theory and he is second to none in his admiration for Ānandavardhana since he always quotes from the latter with approval.² Kuntaka brought to bear on his study, a taste for poetry and a gift of sharing his delight with the readers which is indeed unrivalled in the range of Sanskrit writers. His insight into literature is surprisingly keen and he has the very rare capacity of analyzing things and, after a searching examination of every element, laying his finger precisely on the points which give rise to pleasure. Kuntaka's eclecticism is very well instanced in his description of the best road to poetry (the *Sukumāramārga*). But at the same time it reads more like a commentary on the *Dhvani*-theory rather than a criticism of it:—

'The high road of poetry along which have trodden the greatest of poets is one where words and meanings acquire ever new shades as a result of the fresh genius of the poet; which is embellished but little by figures and where excellences are not strained; where the skill and effort of the poet are made invisible by the abundance of feelings and natural descriptions which brings aesthetic delight to the minds of men of taste; where the identity of parts is lost in the enjoyment of the whole; which is comparable only to the ingenious creation of Brahman in point of variety and beauty, and where, whatever the poetic effect, everything is the result of the poet's genius.'³

Here Kuntaka is almost summarizing Ānandavardhana's position. Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* represents not so much a new theory of *kāvya* but an attempt at bringing all the specific conceptions of *Alanikāra*, *Guṇa*, *Rīti*, *Rasa* and *Dhvani* under a more general principle. *Vakrokti* is this general principle and according to Kuntaka, it is the essence of poetry. By *vakrokti* he understands the peculiarity capable of producing extraordinary charm. *Vakrokti*

¹ Cf., pp. 115, 124, 129, 216, etc., *Vakroktijīvita* (2nd Edn.).

² Cf., pp. 133, 75-76, 42-44, 221, etc., *ibid.*

³ *Vakroktijīvita*, I. 25-29.

is that special activity of the poet (*Kavi-vyāpāra*) which deviates from the ordinary mode of linguistic usage and as a result of which both sounds and senses are invested with unique beauty so as to give aesthetic delight to the *sahydayas*. Thus in poetry, from the standpoint of the poet, it is *vakra-vyāpāra* which matters most; from the standpoint of the reader it is *vakratā* or *vaicitrya* (or *vicchitti* or *camatkāra* or *Parispanda*) that is significant. Beauty in poetry is due to the poet's extraordinary function. Having thus stated his position in general terms Kuntaka proceeds to analyze the various types of *Vakrokti* or *ukti-vaicitrya*. He distinguishes six varieties of *vakratā* in *kavi-vyāpāra*:—(1) *Varna-vinyāsa*, (2) *padapūrvārdha*, (3) *Pratyaya*, (4) *Vākya*, (5) *Prakarana* and (6) *Prabandha*.¹ All *alaṅkāras* are brought under the first or the 4th variety, viz., *vākya-vakratā*. *Mādhurya*, *ojas*, etc., are said to be *Gunas* of *vakratā* or *vaicitrya* contributing to particular *Mārgas* or styles. It will be seen that the other four varieties of *vakratā* as also some varieties of *vākya-vakratā* do not relate either to *Alaṅkāras* or *Gunas* or *Rītis*. They all include only the various aspects of *Dhvani*. *Dhvani* in general is identified with *Vaicitrya* itself.² The major classification of *Dhvani* into three varieties viz., *Vastu*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Rasa* is implicitly accepted by Kuntaka.³ Even *śabdaśakti-mūla-dhvani*, a variety based on a different classification, is explicitly brought under *paryāya-vakratā*, a sub-class of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā*,⁴ and the very instances cited by Ānandavardhana are quoted.⁵ Similarly *arthāntara-saṅkramita-vācya-dhvani* is brought under *Rūḍhi-vakratā*, another sub-class of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā*.⁶ *Rasa* is said to be at the root of all *Vakrokti* and its particular manifestation in relation to *pada*, *vākya*, *prakarana* and *prabandha*, etc., is considered under either the sub-classes of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā* such as *viśeṣana-vakratā*, *saṁvṛti-vakratā*, *vṛtti-vakratā* and *bhāva-vakratā* or under independent major varieties of *vakratā* such as *prakarana-vakratā*,

¹ *Vakroktijīvita*, I. 18-21.

² Cf. प्रतीयमानता यत्र वाक्यार्थस्य निबध्यते ।

वाच्यवाचकद्विभ्यां व्यतिरिक्तस्य कस्यचित् ॥ —*Vakroktijīvita*, I. 40.

Also: 'प्रतीयमानं पुनः काव्यपरमार्थज्ञानामेवानुभवगोचरतां प्रतिपद्यते । —*Ibid.*, p. 56.

Cf. Ānandavardhana's remark:—प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव, etc., *Dhv.*, I. 4.

³ Cf. pp. 134, 187, 207, etc. For details, vide Dr. S. K. De's *Introduction to the Vakroktijīvita*, p. xiv.

⁴ See p. 95, *op. cit.*

⁵ Viz. कुसुमसमययुगमुपसंहरद्भुत्पुष्पमल्लिकाधवल्लोहवाचो यच्छब्दत यौग्यभिधानो मन्त्राकालः and दृष्टोऽस्मिन्मात्रप्रत्यये धरणीधारणायानुना त्वं शेषः—Vide *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 288 ff.

⁶ See p. 88. Also Dr. De's *Introduction*, p. xlv.

vākya-vakratā and *prabandha-vakratā*.¹ And in the third chapter Kuntaka illustrates *alaṅkāradhvani* under *vākya-vakratā*. Finally, Ānandavardhana's *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya-dhvani* (or *lakṣaṇā-mūla-dhvani*) is brought under *upacāra-vakratā*, a sub-class of *pada-pūrvārdha-vakratā*.

Kuntaka is also of opinion that *Rasas* can never be deemed as *alaṅkāras* in their restricted sense but only as *alaṅkārya*. Hence he criticizes the definitions of *Rasavad-alaṅkāra*, given by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa.² But Kuntaka also uses the word *alaṅkāra* with a very wide connotation, as synonymous with *Vakrokti* itself.³ It is in this wide sense only that *Rasa* might be regarded as *alaṅkāra*.

All these facts prove that Kuntaka was fully alive to the importance of *Rasa*⁴ and the doctrine of *Dhvani* as preached by Ānandavardhana and that he was more opposed to the narrow view of *alaṅkāras* held by the ancient writers than to the main principles of the *Dhvani* theory. It is only the expression *Vakrokti* which he borrows from the ancients in its general sense; and even then, he invests it with more significance than the ancients had done. Kuntaka's idea of *alaṅkāra* is poles apart from the narrow idea of the ancients. Such being the case, the following statement of Dr. De will have to be regarded as inaccurate. 'Thus in the figure *Rasavat*, which was recognized by Old Poetics (Bhāmaha, iii. 6; Daṇḍin, ii. 280 f.) and which helped to smuggle in, as it were, the idea of *rasa* into their systems, the moods and feelings are roused not for their own sake but only to adorn the expressed thought. Kuntaka substantially

¹ Cf. p. 105 ff. and p. 132.

वाग्वस्यः पदपञ्चवास्यदतया या वक्रतोद्भासिनी

विच्छिन्तिः सरसलसम्पदुचिता काप्युज्ज्वला ज्यधवे ।

तामासीत्य विदग्धपदपदगणैर्वाक्यप्रसूनाश्रयं

स्कारामोदमनोहरं मधु नवोत्पन्नाकुलं पीयताम् ॥

Com.: कौटली विच्छिन्तिः ?—सरसलसम्पदुचिता = रसवत्तातिशयोपपन्ना ।—(Ibid., p. 133.) Cf. also *Kārikās*, 4-21, Ch. IV and the *antura-sloka* on IV. 4., viz.,

निरन्तररसोद्धारगर्भसन्दर्भनिर्भराः ।

गिरः कवीनां जीवन्ति न कस्यापिमाश्रिताः ॥

² Cf. *Vakroktijīvita*, III. 10 and *Vṛtti* thereon (pp. 156 ff.).

³ उभावेतौ (= शब्दार्थौ) अलङ्कार्यौ तयोः पुनरलङ्कृतिः ।

वक्रोक्तिरेव वैदग्ध्यभङ्गोभणितिरूप्यते ॥—*Vakroktijīvita*, I. 10.

⁴ Cf. मुख्यमङ्गिहरत्यादिपरिपोषमनोहरम् ।

खण्डात्युचितचेवाकसमुक्तेषोज्ज्वलं परम् ॥

रसोदीपनसामर्थ्यविनिबन्धनबन्धुरम् ।

चेतनानाममुख्यानां जडानां चापि भूयसां ॥—*Ibid.*, III. 6-7.

follows this tradition although in the meantime the *Dhvanikāra* and *Ānandavardhana* had already worked out the importance of *Rasa* and indicated its position as an essential element of poetry.¹ (Italics ours.) Kuntaka does not follow the ancient tradition; he follows *Ānandavardhana*'s tradition in the main in spite of minor differences.

But we are concerned here more about Kuntaka's attitude towards *Dhvani*. Here again Kuntaka's position has been frequently misrepresented. Dr. Harichand Sastri states² that the system of *vakrokti*, as propounded by Kuntaka, is also known as the system of *Bhakti*. Dr. S. K. De who thinks this statement to be inaccurate, himself writes 'The *Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra*, therefore, may be classed (together with *Bhāmaha*, *Daṇḍin*, *Udbhaṭa*, and *Vāmana*) among those who hold (according to the classification of the *Dhvanikāra* and *Ānandavardhana*) that *Dhvani* or suggestion is *Bhākta*; or in other words, among those who maintain that the suggested

¹ *Introduction to the Vakroktijīvita*, pp. xxvi-xxvii (1st Edn.).

Dr. De has revised his statement in the second edition as follows: 'Kuntaka substantially follows this tradition, but as in the meantime the *Dhvanikāra* and *Ānandavardhana* had already worked out the importance of *Rasa* and indicated its position as an essential element in poetry, he had to assign to *rasa* a definite place in his system, and could no longer regard the *rasavat* etc. as convenient figures of speech in which the *rasas* could be included.' (p. xxxvii) Even in this modified form, the criticism stands that Kuntaka *does not* substantially follow the tradition of *Bhāmaha* and *Daṇḍin*. Again, it is not wholly true that it was because of *Ānandavardhana*'s influence that Kuntaka was forced to deviate from the earlier tradition and give greater recognition to the importance of *rasas* in poetry. For, in that case, he would never have set aside so nonchalantly *Ānandavardhana*'s own dictum, viz.,

प्रधानेन्यत्र वाक्यार्थं यथाङ्गं तु रसादयः ।

काव्ये तस्मिन्महाकाव्ये रसादिरिति मे मतिः ॥

—(*Dhvanyāloka*, II, 5, quoted and refuted at length in the *Vakroktijīvita*, p. 163 ff.), a fact which is noted by Dr. De himself. [*Vide* '... nor could we regard them with *Ānandavardhana* as cases of *gunibhāta-vyaṅga* in which the suggested sense (here *rasa*) is subordinated to the expressed poetic figure', p. xxxviii] The real position seems to be that Kuntaka wanted to go a step farther than *Ānandavardhana* himself in assigning a proper place to *Rasa* in poetry. He must have felt that *Rasas* are always primary, never secondary to aught else. His idea of *Rasavad-alankāra* is quite novel in so far as the well-known figures like *Upamā* and *Rūpaka* acquire that status when they are associated with *Rasas* that are primarily delineated in a poem.

(Cf. रसेन वर्तते तुल्यं रसवत्त्वविधानतः ।

योऽलङ्कारः स रसवत् तद्विदाङ्गादनिर्मितः ॥

Com.: तमेव रसवदलङ्कारं लक्षयति—रसेनेत्यादि । 'योऽलङ्कारः स रसवत्' इत्यन्वयः । यः किल रसवत्करो रूपकादिः रसवदभिधीयते । किं स्वभावेन—रसेन वर्तते तुल्यम् । रसेन शृङ्गारादिना तुल्यं वर्तते, यथा ब्राह्मणवत् क्षत्रियस्तथैव । स रसवदलङ्कारः *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.). This view comes nearer the views of *Abhinavagupta* and *Viśvanātha* who are acknowledged followers of the *Dhvani* theory, but who at the same time believe in the unrivalled supremacy of *Rasa* in poetry.

² *Kālidāsa et l'Art poétique de l'Inde*, pp. 96-7.

sense may be reached by the process of Indication or Transference (*Lakṣaṇā*) . . . Thus we see that the doctrine of *Vakrokti* (with relation to the theory of *Dhvani*), as set forth by Kuntaka, is not synonymous with but is only a variety of *Bhakti-vāda*, which is alluded to by the *Dhvanikāra* in the first verse of his work, but which takes several forms, as Abhinavagupta points out, according as the *tādātmya* or *tādrūpya*, *lakṣaṇā* or *upalakṣaṇa* Indeed, Kuntaka belongs to that group of authors, who, having flourished after Ānandavardhana's time do not deny the concept of *Dhvani*, but try to explain it in terms of already recognized ideas.¹

This long quotation from De contains many mis-statements. Firstly, as has been already pointed out, it is wrong to hold that Kuntaka is on a par with Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others regarding his attitude towards *Dhvani*. Secondly, it is equally wrong to hold that Kuntaka subscribes to the *Bhākta-vāda* in whatever form. Not only is *Vakrokti* not synonymous with *Bhakti* (as Dr. Harichand thinks), it is also not even a variety of *Bhakti*. In *Upacāra-vakratā*, no doubt we have the idea of *Bhakti* but it is only one of the innumerable sub-varieties of *Vakratā*, not the whole of it. Even so, if Kuntaka had brought all the varieties of *Dhvani* under *Upacāra-Vakratā*, the statement that Kuntaka is a *Bhākta-vādin* would have been valid. But as we have seen, it is only one variety which Ānandavardhana himself is prepared to concede as *Lakṣaṇā-mūla*, that Kuntaka brings under *Upacāra-vakratā*. Supposing Kuntaka had refused to accept any other variety of *Dhvani* except this *Lakṣaṇā-mūla* variety, even then the statement that Kuntaka is a *Bhākta-vādin* would have been valid. But as we have shown, Kuntaka admits all the varieties of *Dhvani* under one or another class of *Vakratā*. Dr. De refers to the several forms which *Bhākta-vāda* may assume according to Abhinavagupta. It is evident that Kuntaka's concept of *Vakrokti* can come under none of those forms. It has already been shown that Kuntaka's *Bhakti* is not identical with Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani* (so no *tādātmya*); it is not even the differentiating property of all varieties of *Dhvani* (hence no *lakṣaṇā*); *upalakṣaṇa* or occasional mark it can be in some instances, and this is a point conceded by Ānandavardhana himself. But since in all instances it cannot be an *upalakṣaṇa*, this form of *Bhāktavāda* also will not apply to Kuntaka's view of *Vakrokti* and *Dhvani*. In support of his statement Dr. De writes 'The word *bhakti* or *bhākta*, as explained by Abhinavagupta (p. 9), is almost synonymous with *lākṣaṇika*, and is therefore a very comprehensive term to indicate generally the system of all writers who regard *Dhvani* as a secondary element (*bhākta* or *gaṇa*) in poetry. Kuntaka, therefore, in main-

¹ De's *Introduction to the Vakroktijīvitā*, pp. xxix-xxx (1st Edn.), pp. xli-xliii (2nd Edn.).

taining the primary importance of *Vakrokti* and regarding *Dhvani* as a secondary element included therein, certainly belongs to this school; but the same remark applies also to Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Daṇḍin and Vāmana of older Poetics who apparently include all ideas of *Dhvani* in particular poetic figures like *Paryāyokta*, etc.¹ Dr. De has completely misunderstood Abhinavagupta. It is true that '*Bhakti* or *Lakṣanā* is a very comprehensive term, to indicate the systems of all writers who apparently regard *Dhvani* as a secondary element; but the question is about the precise meaning of 'secondary'. According to Abhinavagupta, *Bhākta-vāda* is that which thinks that *Dhvani* is 'secondary' or *lākṣaṇika*, not primary or *Abhidheya*, nor *vyāṅgya* or suggested. Abhinavagupta considers Vāmana to be a *Bhākta-vādin* because he refers to *Lakṣanā* as a function of words in his *sūtra* '*sādhyaśyāllakṣanā Vakroktiḥ*'; Similarly Udbhaṭa also is said to be a *Bhāktavādin* because he recognized *Guṇa-vṛtti* as an independent function of words in his *Bhāmaha-vivarana*. Abhinavagupta does not call either Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin a *Bhākta-vādin* since they do not explicitly refer to *Lakṣanā* or *Bhakti*. Dr. De's assertion that all the four rhetoricians are *Bhākta-vādins* cannot thus get any support from Abhinavagupta.

The fact that *Dhvani* is included by some of them like Udbhaṭa (according to the opinion of the commentators) under particular poetic figures like *Paryāyokta* goes to prove only that Udbhaṭa and such others were *abhāva-vādins* and not *bhākta-vādins* 'according to the classification of Ānandavardhana'. For *alaṅkāraṇtarbhāva-vāda* is only a kind of *abhāvavāda*, not *bhākta-vāda*.² If Dr. De is using the word 'secondary' not as a technical English equivalent of *Lakṣanā* or *Bhakti*, but as a general term to mean 'secondary in importance',³ even then at the most, all the four writers Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, and Vāmana may be called *Bhāktavādins* since they do not give primary importance to *Dhvani* in all its aspects and consider *alaṅkāras* as more important. But with Kuntaka, the position is different. He recognizes explicitly the supreme importance of *Dhvani* in general (since he equates *Dhvani* with *Vakratā* or *vaicitrya*) as well as the varieties of *Dhvani* in particular (since he equates them with particular varieties of *Vakratā*). Thus it will be seen that whichever way one might consider the problem, Kuntaka's theory of *Vakrokti* cannot be described as *Bhakti*. Hence MM. P. V. Kane's statement, similar to that of Dr. De, 'It (the *Vakroktijivita*) therefore holds the same view as those who regarded

¹ Pp. xliii, loc. cit.

² Cf. Ānandavardhana's *vṛtti* on the 1st *Kārikā*.

³ But then, this would not be according to the classification of Ānandavardhana as Dr. De would like to think.

Dhvani to be *Bhākta*¹ will also be found to be wide of the mark. Dr. De's other statement that Kuntaka did not deny the concept of *Dhvani*, but tried to explain it in terms of already recognized ideas is also far from being accurate. Kuntaka did not explain *Dhvani* in terms of already recognized ideas. He explained it in terms of *Vakrokti*, a term which was no doubt already recognized, but which was by him made to signify ideas never before signified.

But it must be noted in this connection that staunch followers of Ānandavardhana like Vidyādhara² and Jayaratha³ had branded Kuntaka as a *Bhākta-vādin*, and that is the reason which has misled modern scholars. Such mis-statements of Vidyādhara, etc., can be explained only by the fact that they never based their remarks on a complete study of Kuntaka's work. Even Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*⁴ makes Kuntaka say that *Vakrokti* is only an *alaṅkāra* in its narrow sense. Even a cursory reading of the *Vakrokti-jīvita* is enough to disprove Viśvanātha.

The upshot of the above discussion is that Kuntaka is not a formidable critic of the *Dhvani*-theory; that he deserves a place here at all amidst the critics is because he is neither a devoted follower of the *Dhvani*-theory exclusively. Since his view of *Vakrokti* is more comprehensive than *Dhvani*, it is clear that he was not completely satisfied with Ānandavardhana's exclusive consideration of *Dhvani*. There is a shift in the emphasis on the importance of *Dhvani*. Ānandavardhana held that *Kavipratibhā* works only through the medium of *Dhvani*, and hence *Dhvani* is the soul of poetry. Kuntaka would put it differently. *Dhvani* very frequently indicates *Kavi-Pratibhā*. But the activity of *Pratibhā* is more comprehensive and it is not chained to *Dhvani* only. It may derive help from *alaṅkāras*, *Guṇas*, *Rītis*, and *Dhvani*. Hence *Kavipratibhā* is more important and its activity is *Vakrokti*, noticeable in a thousand and one ways though the major ways are of *Dhvani*. While Ānandavardhana thinks that *Alaṅkāras*, *Guṇas*, etc., are all related to *Dhvani*, Kuntaka holds that they are related to *Vakrokti*. This is all the difference in theory. Mahimabhaṭṭa, who was nearer in point of time to Kuntaka than Vidyādhara and Jayaratha was careful enough to note the close resemblance of Kuntaka's *Vakrokti* and Ānandavardhana's *Dhvani*. He thinks that *Vakrokti* is nothing but *Dhvani* masquerading in disguise since the same examples of

¹ *History of Alaṅkāra Literature*, p. lxxxv.

² एतेन यच्च कुलकेन भक्तावन्तर्भावितो ध्वनिसुदपि प्रत्याख्यातम्।—*Ekāvalī*, p. 51.

³ रदानौ यद्यन्यैरस्य (= ध्वनेः) भक्त्यन्तर्भावमुक्तम् तदपि दर्शयितुमाह।—*Alaṅkāra-vimarśinī*, p. 8.

⁴ *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Kane's Edn.), p. 3.

Ānandavardhana fill the pages of Kuntaka's work,¹ and he directs his attack against *Vakrokti* as much as against *Dhvani*. Kuntaka's theory was no doubt very ingenious and very beautifully explained but in its very nature it could not affect the stream of thought in any noticeable way.

Viśvanātha is a writer who closely follows the theory of *Dhvani* but who thinks that certain statements of Ānandavardhana are too loose and do not stand the test of a scientific scrutiny. According to him the only scientific definition of poetry is *vākyaṃ rasātmakam kāvyam*; and whatever falls outside the sphere of *Rasa* should be automatically regarded as falling outside the province of poetry. Thus in his zeal for scientific accuracy and logical precision, Viśvanātha heaps ridicule not only upon the conservative definition proposed by his worthy predecessor (*upajīvyā*) Maimmaṭa, but also on almost all the definitions of the ancients including Ānandavardhana.

Viśvanātha, first of all, refers to the saying of Ānandavardhana '*kāvyaśyātmā dhvaniḥ*, and the three-fold classification of *Dhvani* (viz., *Vastu*, *Alaṅkāra* and *Rasa*) mentioned by him. And then he points out that if Ānandavardhana means only the last class of *Dhvani*, i.e. *Rasa* to be the soul of poetry, he has nothing to complain about; but, if on the other hand, Ānandavardhana should mean that all the three classes of *Dhvani* are the soul of poetry, Viśvanātha is not prepared to agree with him. Viśvanātha says that such a view is incorrect inasmuch as it would apply with equal force to *prahelikās* or conundrums which also contain some suggested *vastu*. The definition of Ānandavardhana is thus shown to be tainted by the fallacy of 'too wide'.² Further, *Rasa* alone is said to be the distinguishing mark of poetry; prosaic statements such as 'Devadatta goes to town' also may contain suggested meanings such as 'His servant also accompanies him'; but they are not poetry because of the absence of *Rasa*. In the same way, the stanzas quoted as instances of *vastu-dhvani* by Ānandavardhana are regarded as poetry not because of *Vastu-dhvani* therein, but because of the presence of *Rasa* or *Rasābhāsa*.³ Like Mahimabhaṭṭa, Viśvanātha also points out the contradiction involved in

1 ध्वनेरेवेदं लक्षणमनया भङ्गाभिहितं भवति, अभिज्ञलाद्वचनः । अत एव चास्य त एव प्रभेदास्यान्येवोदाहरणानि तैवपदश्रितानि । तच्चायुक्तमित्युक्तं । वक्ष्यते च । —*Vyaktiviveka*, p. 126.

2 यत्तु ध्वनिकारोक्तम्—'काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः—' इति तत्किं वस्तुलङ्काररसादिलक्षणलिरूपो ध्वनिः काव्यस्यात्मा । अत रसादिरूपमात्रो वा । नाद्यः । प्रहेलिकादावतिव्याप्तेः । द्वितीयस्येदमिति श्रूमः ।

—*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. 4.

3 'अस्मा एव शिमञ्ज—' इत्यादौ वस्तुमात्रस्य व्यङ्ग्यत्वे कथं काव्यव्यवहार इति चेत्, अत्रापि रसाभासवन्नेवेति श्रूमः । अन्यथा 'देवदत्तो ग्रामं याति' इति वाक्ये तद्गत्यस्य तदनुसरणरूपव्यङ्ग्यावगतेरपि काव्यत्वं स्यात् । अस्त्विति चेन्न ।—*Op. cit.*

Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka-Kārikās*, I. 1 and I. 2. If *Dhvani* is the soul of *Kāvya*, *Pratīyamānārtha* alone deserves to be looked upon as the soul, not *Vācārtha* also, as the second *Kārikā* would apparently imply.¹

It will be seen that Viśvanātha's criticism of Ānandavardhana is related only to minor matters of detail and not to the fundamental doctrines as such. By comparing the criticisms of Viśvanātha with those of Mahimabhaṭṭa, we find that he has borrowed, almost *verbatim*, the words of the latter. Ānandavardhana himself explicitly admits that *Vastu-Dhvani* and *Alaṅkāra-dhvani* invariably enter into relationship with *Rasa*² and this is no discovery made by Viśvanātha for the first time. The three kinds of *Dhvani* are treated separately in so far as they make a unique appeal to the *Sahydayas*. Viśvanātha's criticism of Ānandavardhana's classification of *Dhvani* into three major types can be ascribed only to his eagerness for evolving a theoretically perfect definition of poetry. But from the practical point of view such definitions are bound to be inadequate. As Jagannatha points out,³ descriptions like those of a flowing river or a waterfall where the charm consists in the suggested ideas (*vastu*) or figures of speech, will have to be shut out from the purview of poetry according to Viśvanātha's rigid definition. Great poets are very often seen to indulge in such descriptions and it would be presumptuous on the part of a literary theorist to place a ban on such a vast bulk of recognized literature.

¹ यच्च ध्वनिकारिणोक्तम्—'अर्थः सहृदयस्यात्मा—' इति, यच्च वाचस्यात्मा 'काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः—' इति स्वयंचनविरोधादेवापास्तम् । —*Op. cit.*, p. 5.

For Abhinavagupta's resolution of the contradiction see my article: 'Abhinavagupta's Contribution to the Theory of Dhvani', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1948.

² Cf. प्रतीयमानस्य चान्यभेददर्शनेऽपि रसभावमुखेनैव उपलक्ष्यं प्रधान्यात् । —*Dhv. vṛtti* on I. 5.

³तथा च अलङ्कारप्रवाहवेगनिपतनोत्पत्तनधमनानि कविभिर्वर्णितानि । कपिशालादिविस्तृतानि च । न च तत्रापि यथाकथञ्चित्परम्परया रसस्यार्थोक्त्येवेति वाच्यम् । ईदृशरसस्यार्थस्य 'गौडलति', 'सुगो धावति' इत्यादावतिप्रसक्तत्वेनाप्रयोजकत्वात् । —*Rasagaṅgādhara* (N. S. Edn.), p. 9.

✓ 'THE AŚOKA CHAKRA'—ITS SYMBOLISM

By H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

Since the attainment of the status of an equal member of the (British) Commonwealth of Nations by India the Government of this country has taken two momentous steps : one, the replacement of the Union Jack by a Tricolour Flag, in the centre of which appears the design of the wheel (*chakra*) found on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Aśoka; and the other, the adoption of a new seal with the design of the aforementioned capital itself. This has aroused a fresh interest amongst not only experts but public in general in the crowning sculptures of the Aśokan pillars, particularly the one that once graced Sarnath, i.e. Isipatana-Migadāya (Deer Park near Benares) of ancient times. The latter, as is well known, is composed in an ascending order of a bell-shaped (? inverted lotus) capital; an abacus on which are carved in high relief an elephant, a galloping horse, a bull and a lion, placed between four wheels, and finally a drum on which stand four roaring lions back to back, which once supported a great wheel of which only fragments now remain.

Vogel thought that the four animals that appear on the abacus are merely ornamental motives.¹ But other scholars have read a symbolism in them. Smith took them as symbolic of four cardinal points.² Bloch conjectured that they represent the gods Surya, Indra, Śiva and the goddess Durgā, and indicate the subordination of these Brāhmanical deities to the Buddha and his *Dharma*.³ Daya Ram Sahni held that the drum with the four animals is meant to represent the Anotatta Lake, one of the sacred lakes of the Buddhists in which the Buddha took his bath. He drew attention, in this connection, to a Buddhist text in Burmese character which describes and illustrates the lake as having four mouths guarded by a horse, a dragon, a bull and an elephant.⁴ Yuan Chwang expressly mentions that the Sarnath Pillar was erected by Aśoka at the spot at which the Buddha, having attained enlightenment, first preached his religion.⁵ This fact, taken together with the well-known influence

¹ Daya Ram Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 41.

² *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (1911), 59f.

³ *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.* See also Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, I, 96f.

⁵ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 50. The Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī (*ET*, IX, 325, 328) records that she restored 'the Lord of the Turning of the Wheel (*Dharmachakra Jina*) in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāśoka, the ruler of men'. If a fact, this points to the existence of human representation of the Buddha even as early as the time of Aśoka. Use of images of gods in the Maurya period is testified by Patañjali.

of the teaching of Buddha-Śākyamuni on Aśoka, has naturally led many scholars to interpret the capital in the light of the famous Buddhist treatise called the *Dhamma-chakka-ppavattana Sutta* which is concerned with the First Sermon of the Buddha at Isipatana-Migadāya.¹ The wheels, according to this interpretation, symbolize 'the Turning of the Wheel of Law' by the Buddha, while the lions are intended to typify Śākyasimha, 'the Lion of the Śākya Race' or the Buddha himself.² Attention may also be drawn to the fact that in Buddhist symbolisms the elephant represents the Conception, the bull the date of the Nativity, and the horse the Great Departure of the Lord.³ In other words, the whole composition of the Sarnath Capital may be taken to represent the principal events in the life of the Buddha till the time of the First Sermon, the only missing link being the *Bodhi-ḍrumba* representing the Enlightenment.

The above interpretation doubtless has much force and reason in support of it. But one should at the same time note the omission on the Sarnath abacus of the figure of deer which is generally, though not invariably, associated with wheel in the sculptural representation of the incident of the *Dharmachakra-pravartana* at the Deer Park in the post-Maurya age,⁴ and which one reasonably expects could have been very appropriately used by Aśoka on the pillar in question. Again, it is no doubt true that the Buddha is often compared with the lion, and his preaching with *śihanāda* or the roar of lion in several early Buddhist texts.⁵ But he is invariably described in early literature as Śākyamuni, an expression used by Aśoka himself, and not Śākyasimha which is unknown to Aśokan epigraphy.

Attention may now be invited to another early Buddhist text, namely, the *Chakkavatti-Sihanāda Sutta*, which possibly affords a clue to the proper appreciation of the Sarnath Capital with its *chakra* and crowning lions. It was preached by the Buddha to the monks at Mātulā in Magadha, and contains the story of Daḥhanemi, who was 'a sovereign overlord, a righteous king ruling in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people (*Chakkavattī dhammiko dhammarāja chāturanto vijitāvī janapada-tthāvariya-ppatto*), who lived in supremacy over this earth to its

¹ In the inscription of mediaeval times the monasteries found at Sarnath were known as 'Dharmarājika', 'Dharmachakra' and 'Sad-Dharma-chakra-pravartana-vihāra' (Gaudalekhamala, 108; Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath, 1).

² Marshall, ASR. AR., 1904-5.

³ Foucher, Beginnings of Buddhist Art, 21. In Hindu mythology the bull is sometimes taken to represent Justice or Virtue personified. Cf. *Vṛisho hi bhagavān Dharmo* (Manu, VIII. 16).

⁴ For wheel associated with deer, see Foucher, *op. cit.*, Plates IV, XIX, and without the animal, Plates II, XXVIII.

⁵ Rhys Davids and Stede, Pāli-English Dictionary (1925), 173.

ocean bounds, having conquered it, not by the scourge, not by the sword, but by righteousness (so *imaṃ paṭhavīm sāgara-pariyantam adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhiviṇṇa ajjhāvasati*).¹ It further expatiates upon the Aryan duty of a *chakravartī* ruler to live 'on the law of truth and righteousness (*Dhamma*), honouring, respecting and revering it, doing homage to it, hallowing it' providing 'the right watch, ward and protection for his own folk, for the army, for the nobles, for vassals, for Brāhmins and householders, for town and country dwellers, for the religious world, and for beasts and birds'.

The above description undoubtedly contains the Buddhist idea of an all-conquering temporal ruler, as opposed to his counterpart in the religious world. It further recalls the following passage of the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* :

*chakkavattī ahum rājā Jambusaṇḍassa issaro
muddhābhisitto khattiyo manussādhīpatī ahum
adaṇḍena asatthena vijeyya paṭhavīm imaṃ
asāhasena dhammena samena m-anusāsīyā
dhammena rajjam kāretvā asmin paṭhavimaṇḍale.*

The known facts of Aśoka's life after the Kalinga War, who deprecated conquest through arrow (*sarasake eva vijaye*); who proclaimed that the chief conquest was the conquest by righteousness (*Dhamma-vijaya*), and that he had won this repeatedly among his borderers and 'even as far as at the distance of six hundred *yojanas*', where his Hellenistic contemporaries were ruling; whose solicitude for his people, for Brāhmanas and Śramaṇas as well as for beasts and birds is eloquently borne out by his epigraphs, certainly show that he looked upon himself as a prototype of Daśhanemi.¹ In the *Divyāvadāna* he is actually described as a *chaturbhāga chakravartī Dhārmiko Dharmarājo*.²

The *Chakkavatti-Sihanāda Sutta*, as well as several other early texts, e.g. the *Mahāśudassana Sutta*, the *Mahāpadāna Sutta*, the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta*, describe the *chakkavattī* as the possessor of seven precious things (*sattaratanasamannāgato*), namely, the *chakkaratana* ('the Treasure of the Wheel'), the *Haṭṭhiratana* ('the Treasure of the Elephant'), the *Assaratana* ('the Treasure of the Horse'), the *Maṇiratana* ('the Treasure of the Gem'), the *Itthiratana* ('the Pearl among Women'), the *Gaḥapatiratana* (the Commoner), and the *Parināyakaratana* ('the Treasure of the Councillor').³ What is worthy of note is that in early Buddhist literature the wheel is not

¹ Another monarch of this type was Mahā-Sudassana mentioned in the *Mahā-sudassana Sutta*.

² Bhandarkar, Aśoka, 2nd ed., 237.

³ For jewels associated with a *chakravartī* ruler, see also Vishṇu Purāṇa, 57. 68-71.

invariably associated merely with the First Sermon of the Lord. It is an essential attribute of a *chakravartī* ruler, 'the symbol of a monarch's conquering efficacy, the wheel of his chariot rolling over his dominions'.¹ We are told that travelling through the air it appears only before the king of a warrior race, an anointed king who has purified himself, and following it to the various quarters of the world the king becomes a *chakravartī*. Epic references also show that the *chakra* was the mark of universal sovereignty and apparently represented the wheel of the monarch's chariot. Compare :

yāvad āvartate cakram tāvatī me vasundharā.

(Rām., II, 10, 36)

*param ch-ābhiprayātasya cakram tasya mahātmanah
bhaviṣhyatyapratihataṁ satataṁ chakravarttinah.*

(Mbh., I, 73, 30)

*tasya tat prathitaṁ cakram prāvartata mahātmanah
bhāṣvaram divyamajitaṁ lokasannādanam mahat*

* * * * *

*sa rājā chakravarttyāsīt sārvaḥśaumaḥ pratāpavān
īje cha bahubhir yajñair yathā Śakro Maruṭpatiḥ.*

(Mbh., I, 74, 127, 129)²

The Buddhist texts noted above also say that riding upon his *hatthiratana* and the *assaratana* the *chakravartī* could pass over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary. That horses were yoked to chariots needs no special mention, while the use of the elephant for the same purpose is referred to by Nearchus.³ As for the bulls or bullocks, Strabo, on the authority of Megasthenes, bears witness to their use for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites in the days of the Mauryas.⁴ Another classical writer refers to races of chariots drawn by oxen, with horses on either sides, which was in vogue in Pāṭaliputra presumably in the time of the same dynasty.⁵ We thus see that while the *chakra* may symbolize the chariot of an all-conquering monarch, three of the animals on the Sarnath abacus

¹ Rhys Davids and Stede, *op. cit.*, 89. The *chakkaratana*, as described in Pali texts, has thousand spokes. In lithic representations we find a lesser number. The wheels on the Sarnath abacus have twenty-four spokes each. It does not seem that any special significance attaches to this figure.

² For the significance of the word *chakra* in *chakravartin*, see Nilakanta Sastri's Presidential Address, Indian History Congress, Third Session, Proceedings, 267ff.

³ Cambridge History of India, I, 405. cf. also Seltman, Greek Coins, p. 229; I.A. XI. 125.

⁴ McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, 88.

⁵ Monahan, Early History of Bengal, 172. Rāmāyaṇa, II, 70. 29 refers to chariots drawn by camels, horses, cows and asses.

may also be connected with his vehicle, or at least with the extension of his influence far and wide. Finally, the lion undoubtedly typifies the might of a *chakravartī*. Emperors are not unoften compared with this mighty beast of forest in Indian as well as non-Indian literature. Lion-throne and lion-gate are counted among their other attributes, and the lion-roar (*simhanāda*) indicates a war-cry, a cry challenging rivals to battle. In this light the four roaring lions sitting back to back and directing their gaze to the four quarters of the earth assumes new significance.¹

'The birth of Ajātasatru and the enlightenment of the Buddha took place in the same country and the same age, and they met in Rājagriha as Charles V and Martin Luther did at Worms. The symbol of aggressive imperialism stood face to face with the preacher of piety and morality, a leader of a movement that was destined to convulse a continent. The two ideologies did not long remain apart. They were harmonized and the magician who worked the miracle was Dharmāsoka who combined in himself the imperial tradition of his forebears as well as the spiritual fervour of the age of the Śākyas.'² The Sarnath Capital stands as a monument of this harmony between two opposing ideas. It blends into its stony textures the story of the birth of a new religion (the *Dhammachakkappavattana* of the Buddha), as well as that of the *Dhammavijaya* of a historical Buddhist *chakravartī*.

¹ The expressions *simha-yāna* and *simha-ratha* (Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1213) show that lions are also associated with chariot in Indian mythology.

The lion motif is found in Western Asia at a much early date. It has been suggested that the Mauryan sculptors were familiar with Persian art tradition, while others have detected Greek influence on Mauryan art. The treatment of muzzle and paws of the Sarnath lions, we are told, is reminiscent of Khorsabad and Persepolis (René Grousset, *The Civilizations of the East (India)*, 89). Another scholar points out the similarity of the treatment of the hair of these animals to those found at Halicarnasus in Asia Minor (*IA.*, 1908, 278). It is worth while to remember, in this connection, not only the existence of political and social contact between India and the Western world during the Maurya period, but also the presence of a considerable number of foreigners in the Mauryan metropolis which necessitated the appointment of special officers, including physicians and judges, to look to their needs.

² Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., 188-89.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EARLY CHĀLUKYA RULE IN THE WESTERN DECCAN

By G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

The early Chālukyas attained the zenith of their power in the Deccan in the reign of Pulakeśin II. But as is well known, the career of the famous king closed under tragic circumstances which created a great chaos within the Chālukya dominions. Indeed all vestiges of Chālukya rule was totally lost for a time. But thanks to the courage, energy, patience and steadfast determination of Vikramāditya I, a younger son of Pulakeśin II, the situation was largely retrieved. The Kurnul Plates, dated in the third regnal year of the king (657 A.D.), state that he 'at the head of many famous battles, assisted by none but (his) noble steed Chitrakanṭha and the edge of his glittering, spotless and sharp sword . . . conquered would-be conquerors', and 'having gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been concealed by the triad of kings, caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone.'¹ There is ample evidence to show that Vikramāditya did rule over the whole of the western Deccan. His authority was acknowledged by subordinate rulers stationed at Lāṭa, Nāsikyavishaya, western Khandesh, Puri-Koṅkaṇa 1400, Sthānaka, and southern Koṅkaṇa.² In the third, and again in the tenth year of his reign, he made land grants in the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya (Kurnul district).³ An inscription dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign has been found at Dimmaguḍi, Gooty taluk, Anantapur district.⁴ Finally, a hero-stone inscription at Annavaram-agraharam, Darsi taluk, shows that the Chālukya king even controlled for a time a portion of the Nellore district.⁵ On the other hand, we must note that there is no evidence to show that Vikramāditya exercised any authority over the Kosalas, Kalingas or the Veṅgi-maṇḍala. Even the rulers of the collateral branch at Piṣṭapura seem to have declared their independence.

The extensive dominions over which Vikramāditya I held sway were retained in tact by his successors till the days of his great-grandson bearing the same name. But within a little more than a

¹ *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 225, 235; *IA.*, X, 244.

² G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, I, 12f.; *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 56ff.; *EI.*, XIV, 144ff.; XXV, 230; *BISMQ.*, XX, No. 4, 66ff.; *NIA.*, I, 747; *IA.*, XVIII, 265f., etc.

³ *JBBRAS.*, XVI, 225, 227, 235, 238f.; *IA.*, X, 244.

⁴ *SIE.*, 364 of 1921.

⁵ *SIE. AR.*, 1933-34, App. B, No. 183, also Part II, para. 2.

decade after the death of the latter no recognizable trace of the authority of his family remained. This dramatic collapse of the power of the early Chālukyas forms the great event of historical interest of the reign of the second Vikramāditya's son and successor Kirtivarman.

The new king came to the throne in 746-47 A.D., and his latest known date is 757 A.D. The distribution of his stone inscriptions, land grants and *jayaskandhāvāras* shows that he was certainly in possession of the Sholapur and Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, the South Kanara, Bellary and Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency, and the north-western districts of the Mysore State. Epigraphs of the reign have been found at Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur district, Anṇigeri and Diḍgūr in the Dharwar district, Āḍūr in South Kanara, Kurukundi in the Alur taluk, Bellary district, and Nilūru in the Gooty taluk, Anantapur district. The king granted the village of Kāravandar on the eastern bank of the Tūmbaravu in the Korivode-vishaya, and also land in Vanniyapālu in the neighbourhood of the village Arapumse, the villages of Arapumse itself and Beppatti in the Belvola-vishaya, Saḷliyur in the Pānumgal-vishaya, and also the villages of Āḍūr (8 miles from Hangal) and Saganur (12 miles from Diḍgūr) in the Dharwar district. The victorious camps of the king were stationed at Nelavodige and Bhaṇḍāgāravittage on the bank of the Bhīmā and at Raktapura.¹ The Ainuli Plates mention Nāgaśakti of the Sendraka race as a feudatory of the Chālukya king. Two others were Dōsirāja, governor of Banavāsi 12000, and Prince Sinda of Pāṇḍipura (same as Āḍūr in South Kanara).²

No record has been discovered as yet to show that the authority of Kirtivarman was acknowledged in the northern provinces of the Chālukya dominions. And it is precisely in this quarter that the movement to overthrow the Chālukya rule in the western Deccan appears to have started. Its leader was the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. His Ellora Plates show that in 742 A.D. he held possessions in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's Dominions, and the contiguous district of Khandesh.³ The record describes him as a *mahāsāmāntādhipati* who had obtained the five great sounds (*samādhigatapañcha-mahāśabda*). Although no reference is made to any overlord, it can hardly be doubted that he acknowledged the suzerainty of Vikramāditya II. The Daśavatāra Temple Inscription mentions five of his predecessors, namely, Dantivarman I, Indra I, Govinda I, Karka I and Indra II. Nothing substantial is known about the

¹ *EI.*, III, 4ff.; XXI, 204ff.; VI, 253f., Add. vii; *IA.*, XI, 70; *IMP.*, II, p. 854; *SII.*, IX, I, Nos. 50-51; *MAS.*, 1909, pp. 12 a, 14; *EI.*, III, 4ff.; IX, 200ff.; V, 202ff.

² *MAS. AR.*, 1908-9, pp. 12 a, 14; *IA.*, XI, 70; *IMP.*, II, p. 854.

³ *EI.*, XXV, 25ff.

first two. The Baroda Plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha describes Govinda I as *svakiy-ānvaya-varṇsa-karttā* ('the maker of his own lineage')¹ which definitely suggests that the family to which Dantidurga belonged rose into prominence for the first time in the days of his great-grandfather. Karka I and Indra II also, like Dantidurga, receive the epithet *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda-mahāsāmāntādhipati*, indicating their feudatory rank, obviously under the Chālukya king. The rise of this new line of feudatories seems to have followed the extinction of the feudatory family of the Sendrakas of Khandesh sometime after 680 A.D.² The Sanjan Plates inform us that Indra II, in battle, carried away the daughter of a Chālukya prince from her marriage pandal at Khetaka (usually identified with Kaira), and married her according to the Rākshasa form. She may have belonged to the ruling family of Lāṭa. The issue of this union was Dantidurga. The Ellora Plates vaguely refer to his victories which suggests that he had no significant achievement to his credit when the record was issued in 742 A.D. Twelve years later at the time of the issue of the Samangaḍ Plates we see that the status of Dantidurga had undergone momentous changes: from being a mere feudatory he became a sovereign ruler, an equal with his erstwhile overlord.

The Rāshtrakūṭa records state that Dantidurga attained the position of a king of kings, the supreme lord (*rājādhirāja-parama-śvaratām*) by 'suddenly conquering Vallabha with his assaulting force' and by 'overcoming the endless forces of Karṇāṭaka which were invincible to others, and which were skilled in effecting defeat on the lord of Kāñchī, the king of Keraḷa, the Chōḷa, the Pāṇḍya, Śrī-Harsha and Vajraṭa'. Scholars are unanimous in identifying the Vallabha king in the above passage with Kirtivarman II. We know that as a *yuvārāja* he had led an expedition against the king of Kāñchī and humbled him. He was therefore not devoid of martial prowess. The efficiency and fame of the Chālukya army is borne out by its description in the Rāshtrakūṭa records quoted above. Why then did it suffer a military debacle during the reign of Kirtivarman? We can only guess an answer to this question. The expression 'suddenly conquering' (*sahasā jigāya*) is significant in this connection. It suggests that the Karṇāṭaka army was caught unawares by the forces of Dantidurga. Again, the Samangaḍ Plates state that Dantidurga's tuskiers 'tore open and rent asunder the high banks of the Mahī, the Mahānadī and the Revā'. The Daśāvatāra

¹ *IA.*, XII, 158-59.

² The following Sendraka inscriptions have come to light so far:—

- (a) The Kasare Plates of Nikumbha-Allaśakti (*BISMQ.*, XX, No. 4, 66ff.).
- (b) The Dhulia Plates of the same (*NIA.*, I, 747); the Bagumra Plates of the same (*IA.*, XVIII, 265ff.); the Mundakheḍa Plates of Jayaśakti (*D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, 55n).

Temple Inscription says that he conquered, besides the Vallabha king, the rulers of Kāñchī, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrīśaila, Mālava, Lāṭa and Tañka.¹ The chronology of these extensive conquests is not known, but some of them may have been undertaken before the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler came into conflict with the Chālukya forces. Dantidurga apparently created an efficient military machine to effect these conquests, and it was still fresh and powerful. On the other hand, the almost ceaseless warfare of the reign of Vikramāditya II (we must remember that he claims to have conquered Kāñchī three times) must have left the Chālukya army thoroughly exhausted, and its strength greatly undermined. Hence when the rival forces met, it was the Chālukya army which was worsted.

The grant recorded in the Samangaḍ Plates shows that Dantidurga extended the boundary of his possessions in the south up to the Satara district.² He, no doubt, dealt a heavy blow at the power of the Chālukyas. But the task begun by him was left unfinished, for, as the Poddattūru Inscription informs us, he met with an untimely death while as yet a youth.³ A struggle for succession now broke out within the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom in course of which the throne passed into the hands of more than one person. The inscription referred to above makes a pointed allusion to this by stating that the Fortune (Lakshmi) of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom behaved as if like a harlot (*veśyeva*) till her recovery by force of his arms by Kṛishṇa I, the uncle of Dantidurga.⁴ This fact is also borne out by the statement of the Baroda Plates of Karka-Suvarṇavarsha that Kṛishṇarāja 'uprooted a relative (*vaṁśyam*) of his who resorted to evil ways, and appropriated the kingdom to himself for the benefit of his family'. The Surat Plates of Karka, as well as several other Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions, tell us that Kṛishṇa I 'quickly gained the titles of king of kings and supreme lord, which were made resplendent by numerous *Pālidhvajas*' by conquering one Rāhappa. It is not altogether impossible that he was identical with the *vaṁśyam* referred to above. Whatever the truth may be, the confusion within the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom afforded an unexpected opportunity to the Chālukya king to make a bold attempt to recover his lost position. He launched an attack upon Kṛishṇa I but apparently suffered a disastrous defeat. The incident is graphically described in the Baroda Plates of Karka, which say

¹ Note the correction made in *EI.*, XXV, 28-29.

² DKD., 390.

³ See the following note.

⁴ *SII.*, IX, I, No. 68, p. 40; K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Three Lectures*, p. 63.

Tasmin Sāhasatunga-nāmnī nṛipatau svas-sundari-prārthitē yātē yāni
divan divākarasamaṁ vēśyēva Lakshmiś=tataḥ | Tatr=āvāpa bhuja-
dvayēna nibiḍaṁ sālīshya ramayair-guṇaiḥ prītyā prāṇasamaṁ chiraṁ
ramayati Śrī-Kṛishṇarājādhipaṁ ||

that Kṛishṇa 'transformed into a deer (i.e. put to flight) the great boar (the crest of the Chālukyas), which was seized with an itching for battle, and which, kindled with the warmth of bravery, attacked him'. The overthrow of the sovereign rule of the Chālukyas was now complete. The Kauthem Plates expressly state that they lost their supreme position in the reign of Kīrtivarman II. It must have happened after 757 A.D. when we find the Chālukya king making a grant from his *jayaskandhāvāra* at Bhaṇḍāgaraviṭṭage on the bank of the Bhīmā, and before 768 A.D. when we find the Rāshtrakūṭa king in his *jayaskandhāvāra* at Maṇṇe in the territory of the Gaṅgas.¹

The fall of the early Chālukyas appears to have been abrupt and unexpected. Its immediate cause was of course a military débacle. But there seems to have been other causes also which contributed to the same end. As was the general practice in India in those days, the provinces of the early Chālukya dominions were ruled by hereditary governors, and it is obvious that under such circumstances its integrity largely depended upon the loyalty of the local rulers and constant vigilance of their sovereign over their activities. The *jayaskandhāvāras* of the kings found in different parts of their kingdoms testify not only to their warlike activities, but also to their tours of personal inspection of the administration of their feudatories. The predecessors of Kīrtivarman II, from Vikramāditya I onwards, with the possible exception of Vijayāditya, were almost constantly engaged in aggressive exploits, and they directed their attention particularly to the enemies in the south. As a result, their visits to the northern provinces of their kingdom were few and far between.² It seems, therefore, that the governors of that region were left with a large amount of initiative of their own, and in some cases even enjoyed special privileges which were possibly denied to others. We see, for instance, that the name of the sovereign ruler does not appear in any of the known copper-plate charters of the Sendrakas of Khandesh. Neither do we find it in the Ellora grant of Dantidurga. Even Jayasimha of Lāṭa, brother of Vikramāditya I, does not mention the latter in the single grant of him that we know so far. Far more significant than this perhaps is the fact that these local ruling families were allowed to maintain, under their own command, well-organized army always in readiness to meet any intruder from the north. The defeat of Vajraṭa by Jayasimha and that of the Tājikas by Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin of Lāṭa can only be explained in this light. The concession, though useful, was undoubtedly a dangerous expedient. The whole system

¹ Talegaon Plates of Kṛishṇa I. *EI.*, XIII, 275ff.

² Note that only one *jayaskandhāvāra*, and that of Vijayāditya, is so far known to have been located in the farthest northern provinces of the Chālukya kingdom.

appears to have worked well under the charge of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh. The latter family, as we have seen, probably became extinct sometime after 680 A.D., and their place was filled up by the ancestors of Dantidurga, who must have succeeded to all the privileges and advantages enjoyed by their predecessors. The disappearance of the Chālukya family of Lāṭa probably took place not long after 739 A.D., for no successor of Avanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin is known. This seems to have afforded an opportunity to Dantidurga, himself probably a son of a Lāṭa princess, to extend his influence in that direction as well. Kīrti-varman II thus had to deal with a dangerously powerful rival in the north, and in the contest that followed he lost his kingdom. Hence the laxity of control over the northern provinces, the excessive powers—both military and civil—enjoyed by the governors of that region, the disappearance of the Chālukyas of Lāṭa and the Sendrakas of Khandesh, the constant warfare in the south, which brought no gain but only led to military exhaustion—all these combined to bring about the seemingly sudden close of the early Chālukya rule in the western Deccan.

THE STATUS OF TERRITORIAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GROUPS IN THE EARLY SMRITIS.*

By U. N. GHOSHAL

In tracing the rights (or disabilities) of the component classes of the social system, the *Dharmasūtras* follow more or less the lines laid down by their Vedic predecessors. But a new line of enquiry is opened up by their consideration of the status of regional and other groups now brought prominently into notice. As regards the regional and family groups, we find that their customs are explicitly given binding authority in the wider sphere of social life as also within the narrower field of public administration. Illustrating this point we may quote *Vaś.* who says (I, 10), while listing the sources of *dharma*, that acts productive of spiritual merit (*dharma*) and customs (*ācāra*) which are approved of in *Āryāvartta* ('the Aryan country'), are everywhere acknowledged as authoritative. In the same context *Vaś.* declares (I, 17) on the authority of *Manu* that the peculiar laws (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*), caste sub-divisions (*jāti*), and clans or families (*kula*), may be followed in the absence of rules of the revealed texts.¹ *B.* similarly, while tracing the sources of *dharma* at the beginning of his work, states (I, 1. 2. 9) that the customs (*ācāra*) of *Āryāvartta* are also authoritative. On the other hand, *B.* mentions (I, 1. 2. 13-15) a number of lands as impure, thereby implying that the customs prevailing there have no authority. In an earlier passage (I, 1. 2. 1 f.), *B.* specifically enumerates two sets of practices which have authority within their respective spheres, namely the North and the South². We have an indirect reference to the authoritative character of the customs (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*) and families (*kula*) in *Āp.* (II, 6. 15. 1). The high respect accorded to regional and other groups is illustrated by a text of *Viṣ.* (V, 31-32) which makes it a penal offence to revile one's caste

* Abbreviations:—*G.* = *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*; *Vās.* = *Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra*; *B.* = *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*; *Āp.* = *Āpastambīya-Dharmasūtra*; *Viṣ.* = *Viṣṇu-Smṛiti*.

¹ We may quote *Vaś.* XIX, 7 to show how regional and other customs were held to be almost as authoritative as the *Dharmasūtra* list of class duties. In this passage the king is required to maintain the four *varṇas* in their respective paths after considering the entire group of customs of regions (*deśadharmas*), of caste sub-divisions (*jātidharmas*) and of clans or families (*kuladharmas*).

² It is worth remarking that the practices quoted in the above passage relate to eating and drinking, marriage, and the means of livelihood. In other words, they are concerned with rules of social life alone.

sub-division (*jāti*) and company (*pūga*) as well as village (*grāma*) and country (*deśa*).

In the list of authorities for the law applicable to the king's court of justice G. (XI, 19-20) mentions next to 'the Veda, the Smṛitis, the Aṅgas and the Purāṇa' the customs (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*), caste-groups (*jāti*) and families (*kula*) which are not opposed to the sacred texts (*āmnāya*). After this occurs a passage (XI, 21) which has been thus translated by Bühler (SBE., II, 237): 'Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, moneylenders and artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes'¹. On the authority of this translation very definite views have been put forward by scholars in recent times about the status of trades and crafts in the early Smṛitis. Thus Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., pp. 124 f.), after declaring G.'s text in contrast with Jātaka passages to mark 'a further stage in the development of the guild organization', observes, 'The corporations of traders and artisans are now recognized by the constitution as an important factor in the state and invested with the highly important power of making laws for themselves'. While Dr. Majumdar thus states Gautama's text to be a warrant for the legislative authority of trade- and craft-guilds, Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee finds in it (read along with Vaś. I, 17, XIX, 7; B.I., 12. 6; Āp. II, 6. 15. 1) evidence not only of legislative independence, but also of independent political status, of local bodies. As he observes (*Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 124 f.), 'If the power of independent legislation is one of the criteria of an independent political status, it is amply fulfilled in the case of these local associations. They developed a distinct body of laws and bye-laws to regulate their work and activities, the existence and authority of which are clearly affirmed and admitted by our law-books.' Finally, we may quote the view of Dr. Beni Prasad who finds in the above-quoted text of Gautama not only the grant of legislative authority to occupational groups, but also the virtual recognition of village autonomy. He writes (*The State in Ancient India*, pp. 165-6), 'Gautama thus grants legislative powers to groups or associations of men. It is more than probable that the followers of various occupations regulated a part of their life and transactions by the customs which had spontaneously arisen among them and by the rules which were enunciated to meet any emergencies. It is significant that the cultivators are mentioned among the self-regulative groups. In practice it would mean that a village should enjoy a good deal of autonomy.'

Now it may be admitted that G. contains definite evidence of the organization of trades and selected crafts under accredited

¹ The passage in the original is as follows: *Karṣakavanīkpaśupālakusīdikāraṇaḥ sve sve varge*.

leaders. In the passage immediately following XI, 21 we read, 'Having learned the state of affairs from those who in each class have authority to speak, the king shall give the legal decision.' This suggests that the trades and crafts had their recognized spokesmen probably corresponding (as Dr. Majumdar thinks) to the *Jettihakas* of Jātaka texts. But the attempt to find a warrant for the legislative authority of trades and crafts in G. XI, 21, is certainly a forced one. The last-named passage simply means that cultivators, traders, etc., are authorities for the usages of their respective groups (*vargas*). Some further light is thrown upon this point by the context of the present passage. According to G. XI, 20, as we have seen, the customs of regions, etc., are declared to be authoritative, provided they are not opposed to the sacred law. By contrast G. XI, 22 tells us, as has been noticed above, that the king before giving his decision is to ascertain the customs of trades and crafts from the respective leaders of groups. It would thus appear that the customs in both sets of cases had legal validity, but while those of the former group were sufficiently well known, those of the latter class (probably because of their technical and changing character) had to be ascertained beforehand from the proper authorities. Let us next turn to the explanations of the commentators. Haradatta (Comm. on G. XI, 20) explains the text by stating that when the spokesmen have said, 'Such is our complete custom, the decree shall be given in accordance therewith'. To the same effect Maskari (Comm. on *Ibid.*) observes that the king shall himself repeatedly consider the customs as enunciated to him by the cultivators and so forth through their respective spokesmen and thereafter give the legal decision. These authoritative explanations leave no doubt that the occupational groups were credited with the legal recognition of their customs and not with the 'power of making laws for themselves'. Coming to general grounds it seems extremely improbable that the early Smṛiti texts would allow the trades and crafts a privilege that they denied to the king himself, viz. that of independent legislation. The study of Comparative Jurisprudence shows us by what slow degrees legislation properly so called has replaced blind obedience to custom in ancient societies of the East as well as of the West. It is needless to point out that there is no authority in these ancient texts for assigning 'independent political status' to the local assemblies, for such a statement would be a contradiction in terms.

Turning to another point, we may observe that G. in the passages quoted above makes no reference to local bodies as such. We may of course take the reference to cultivators in a general sense to apply to a village unit. But none of the early Smṛitis credits the villages with the enjoyment of virtual autonomy. Ap. (II, 10. 26. 4 f.), on the contrary, distinctly speaks of the king's appointment of officials

in charge of villages and towns with well-defined jurisdiction and functions. Viṣ. (III, 7. 15) goes a step further and anticipating Manu mentions a chain of royal offices in charge of 1, 10 and 100 villages with appropriate duties. It would thus seem that administrative centralization instead of village autonomy was the key-note of local government in the early Smritis.

In conclusion, we may cast a glance at a specific type of social organization which receives but scanty attention in the *Dharma-sūtras*, but is known from other sources to have occupied an important position in contemporary public life. We refer to the *gana* association which rose to the position of an independent republican community in certain favoured regions and periods of time. We have a passage (V. 167-168) in Viṣ. pointing to the possession of corporate property by the *gana* and its right to frame rules for the guidance of its members. In this passage the severe penalty of banishment is laid down for one who steals the property of a *gana* (*ganadravya*) and for one who violates its established rule (*saṃvrit*). In other passages the *gana* is reprobated probably because of its disregard of the stringent code of duties prescribed for classes and orders according to the sacred law. We read in Vaś. (XIV, 10) that the food of the *gana* (*ganānna*) along with the food of harlots (*ganikānna*) is forbidden food. Similarly Viṣ. (LI, 7) includes eating the food of *ganas* along with that of a harlot, a thief, and the like among sins requiring a slight penance. The obloquy belonging to the king's servant (*rājapreṣya*) is shared by the servant of the *gana* (*ganapreṣya*), both being included by G. (XV, 8) in the list of those whose food is forbidden.

SOME WORKS ON PALI GRAMMAR, RHETORIC AND PROSODY

By D. L. BARUA

The Theravāda Tipitaka is written in Pali. Tradition, however, is that the earliest known collection of the Buddha's words is one in Māgadhi or Māgadhian Pali. The Māgadhi by which the language of the Pali Canon is meant, is not certainly the Māgadhi of the Prākṛt grammarians, or that of the dramas, epics and lyrics, or even that of the inscriptions. It cannot at the same time be maintained that Pali or Māgadhi was the very language through the medium of which the Buddha promulgated his doctrine and discipline. It is reasonable, therefore, to think that through the efforts of some of the leading and immediate disciples of the Buddha, such as Mahākassapa, Mahākaccāyana, Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda and others, the language used for the recitation of the Buddha's teachings took a definite shape, which was not exactly of the type of the Old Ardha-Māgadhi or the Aśokan Māgadhi, but was yet a form of speech based on Māgadhi.¹

As shown by R. O. Franke and others,² there must have been a fixed grammatical system to which the language of the Pali Canon conformed. The history of the grammatical treatment of the Pali language, however, begins from the time of Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana who is believed to be the first Pali grammarian. It is interesting to note that in the *Gandhavaṃsa*,³ Mahākaccāyana is not only placed earlier than the three great Pali commentators, Buddhaghosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapāla, but also mentioned as the only example of those who were known by the three-fold designation of ancient teacher, commentator and author (*tividhanāmakācariyā*). Tradition goes so far as to identify the grammarian Mahākaccāyana with an influential and immediate disciple of the Buddha bearing the same name, who was born in a Brahmin family at Ujjenī, the capital of the Avantī country, and who, after having succeeded his father in the office of the royal chaplain (*purohita*) under the Avantī king Caṇḍapajjota (Caṇḍapadyota),⁴ joined the Buddhist Order and lived at Madhurā (Mathurā).⁵ This identification, however, is not accepted by modern scholars who think that the grammarian

¹ Cf. Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 6; Winternitz, *HIL.*, II, 13.

² Franke, *Pali-Grammatik*, p. 3; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 632; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 37.

³ Edited by Professor J. Minayeff in *JPTS.*, 1886, pp. 54ff.

⁴ Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

⁵ *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 83.

Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana is later than the Pali scholiast Buddhaghosa (5th century A.D.), for the latter explains the grammatical construction of Pali words by the rules of Pāṇini, and not by those of Kaccāyana.¹ Buddhaghosa who already received his education and training in the Brāhmaṇical tradition before his conversion to the Buddhist faith, was perhaps conversant with some of the earlier works on Sanskrit grammar including the grammar of Pāṇini.

There are three main systems or schools of Pali grammar: (1) that of Kaccāyana, (2) that of Moggallāna, and (3) that of Aggavaṃsa, the author of the *Saddanīti*. The first had its origin in India but developed in Ceylon in the line of the *Kalāpa-Kātantra*; the second originated and developed in Ceylon in the line of Pāṇini, Candra and Kātyāyana; and the third in Burma in the line of Kaccāyana, Pāṇini, etc. Of these, the school of Kaccāyana is the oldest. The *Saddanīti* school seems to be earlier than the school of Moggallāna. Each of these three schools has to its credit a large number of learned treatises in the field on Pali grammar and philology, rhetoric and prosody. The study of Pali grammar was needed particularly for facilitating the study of the canonical texts and their commentaries, and also for popularizing Pali or early Buddhism. Those who acted as pioneers so far as grammatical study is concerned, were chiefly the Buddhist monks and novices. But grammatical knowledge was not only confined to the members of the Buddhist Order, but also to the laity. Many grammatical treatises still lie buried in manuscripts. Some are reported to have been lost. Only a few of them have been published in Ceylon, Burma and other places.

An attempt has been made here to give a list of some of the important Pali works on grammar, rhetoric and prosody, based on the *Gandhavaṃsa*, supplemented by relevant materials from other available sources.²

Akkharamālā.—It is a short metrical work composed by Nāgasena Thera of Ceylon in the eighteenth century A.D., dealing with the Pali and Sinhalese alphabets.³

Akkharavisodhanī.—It is a late grammatical treatise dealing mainly with Pali philology, written in Burma by an unknown author.⁴

Atthabyākhyāna.—According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 60, 67), this grammatical treatise was composed by the teacher, Culla

¹ Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 37; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 632-33, 637.

² For a list of modern works on Pali grammar, prosody, etc., the reader is referred to B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638ff., Geiger, *PLS.*, pt. II, pp. 59f.

³ Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 285; *DPPN.*, I, 5.

⁴ *SV.*, p. 154; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 5.

Vajirabudhi, who lived in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma.¹

Alamkāranissaya.—This is a *nissaya* or paraphrase on the *Subodhālamkāra* of Thera Saṃgharakkhita, written in 1880 A.D. by a Burmese monk.²

Ākhyātapada.—It is a short treatise dealing with Pali verbs, written in Ceylon.

Kaccāyana.—This is the oldest extant and most important Pali grammar. It is also called the *Kaccāyanagandha* or *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. It is so called, because it owes its origin to the teacher Kaccāyana or Mahākaccāyana who, according to tradition, belonged to Jambudīpa, i.e., India. In its present form, it is but an enlargement of an earlier work, called the *Susandhikapāṭha* of Kaccāyana. It is divided into eight parts, each containing *suttas* (rules or aphorisms), *vutti* (gloss), *payoga* (application of the rules with illustrations), and *nyāsa* (explanatory notes). In the *Kaccāyana-bheda*, it is distinctly stated that the *suttas* were written by the teacher Kaccāyana, the *vutti* by the teacher Saṃghanandī, the *payoga* by the teacher Brahmadatta, and the *nyāsa* by the teacher Vimalabuddhi. The *nyāsa* also exists as a separate work, called the *Mukhamattadīpanī*. The *Kaccāyana*, as we now have it, is a work, not of any single author but of many authors, and before it took its present form, it developed by stages. Kaccāyana's aphorisms are based on some earlier works, such as the *Kalāpa-Kātantra* of Śarvavarman, Pāṇini's grammar, etc. Kaccāyana's indebtedness to some such authority is frankly admitted in his aphorism (I. 1. 9): *Parasamaññā payoge*. The *Kaccāyana* is said to have been taken to Burma early in the 5th century A.D. Since then several works have been written on it both in Ceylon and Burma.³

Kaccāyanadīpanī.—It is an anonymous work forming a commentary on Kaccāyana's grammar.⁴

Kaccāyana-dhātumañjūsā.—It is a metrical work, probably of the 15th century A.D. It is called simply *Dhātumañjūsā*. The roots contained in it are arranged on the line of the *Kaccāyana*. According to Subhūti (*Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., p. xcv), the work is similar to Vopadeva's *Kavikalpadruma*.⁵

Kaccāyanabheda or *Kaccāyanabhedadīpikā*.—This work consisting of seven chapters forms a masterly commentary on the *Kaccāyana*. According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (pp. 64, 67, 74), it was written by the teacher Dhammānanda on his own initiative in the

¹ SV., p. 34; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 28; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 56ff.

² Bode, *PLB.*, p. 95; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 185.

³ Vide Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., pp. v ff.; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, 179ff.; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 21; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 633ff.; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 479.

⁴ Vide B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 636.

⁵ Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 50, 56; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 237; *DPPN.*, II, 1158.

city of Arimaddana (Pagan), while others hold that its author was Thera Mahāyasa who lived at Thaton in the second half of the 14th century A.D. (*Svd.*, v. 1250; Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 36f.). There are two important *ṭīkā*s on it, namely, the *Kaccāyanabheda-mahāṭīkā* and the *Sāratthavikāsinī*.¹

Kaccāyanayoga.—It is a learned treatise dealing with the aphorisms of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, written in Burma (Bode, *PLB.*, 21).

Kaccāyanavannanā.—It is a commentary on the *Susandhikapṇṇa* of *Kaccāyana*, written by Mahā Vijitāvi Thera.²

Kaccāyanavutti.—This work contains the *vutti* or gloss of *Kaccāyana*'s aphorisms, written by the teacher Saṃghanandī, an inhabitant of Ceylon.³

Kaccāyanasāra.⁴—It is a résumé of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*. In it, the *Rūpasiddhi*, *Bālāvatāra*, *Sambandhacintā*, and other grammatical works have been quoted. According to the *Gandhavaṃsa* (p. 74), it was written by a celebrated Pali grammarian, named Dhammānanda Thera, who lived at Pagan in Upper Burma, while according to others, its author was Mahāyasa Thera who lived at Thaton in the second half of the 14th century A.D.⁵

Kaccāyana-suttaniddesa.⁶—It is so called because it explains the *suttas* or aphorisms of *Kaccāyana*. It is also titled as *Suttaniddesa*, dated 1181 A.D., and composed at Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma by the teacher (*ācariya*) Saddhammajotipāla.⁷

Kavisāraṭṭhikānissaya.—This *nissaya* or paraphrase pre-supposes the existence of a *ṭīkā* on the book *Kavisāra* with which it deals. Its author and the time of origin are not known.⁸

Kavisārapakaraṇa.—It is a useful work on Pali prosody.⁹

Kāmaṇḍakī.—It is a work on Pali metrics, written by an unknown author.¹⁰

Kārikā ¹¹.—This is a short metrical treatise dealing with Pali grammatical rules. This work seems to be earlier than the *Saddanīti*

¹ Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., pp. lxiii f.; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 51f.; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 478.

² *Svd.*, v. 1242; Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., pp. xviii f.; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 46; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 52f.; *JPTS.*, 1882.

³ Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 180; *DPPN.*, II, 993.

⁴ Ed. with Sinhalese Trans. by W. Nāṇatilaka, Welitara, Ceylon, 1892 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 143).

⁵ *Svd.*, v. 1250; Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 36f.

⁶ Ed. in Sinhalese by N. J. Cooray, Colombo, 1905 (*JPTS.*, 1912, 144).

⁷ *Gandhavaṃsa*, pp. 64, 74; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 66; Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., p. xv.; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 17; *JPTS.*, 1908, p. 89; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 50; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 1190.

⁸ B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Ed. in Sinhalese by W. Nāṇatilaka, Welitara, Ceylon, 1897 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 144).

of Aggavaṃsa. It was composed in Burma by the teacher Dhammasenāpati.¹

Gandhatthi.—It is a grammatical work on Pali particles, probably of the fourteenth century A.D., written by the Burmese Thera Maṅgala, an inhabitant of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma.²

Gandhābharana ³.—This work deals with Pali particles. It was composed in about 1980 B.E. (= 1436 A.D.) by a celebrated teacher and author named Ariyavaṃsa on his own initiative.⁴ Ariyavaṃsa was a native of Ava in Burma, and belonged to the Chapada sect.⁵

Culla-nirutti.—This is one of the oldest Pali grammars. It is also called the *Culla-nirutti-gandha*, ascribed to Mahākaccāyana, the author of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*.⁶

Chandovicitī.—It is a work on Pali metrics.⁷

Chandosāratthavikāsinī or *Vuttodayapañcikā*.—It is an important work, being a commentary on the *Vuttodaya*. Its author was a distinguished Pali and Sanskrit scholar named Saddhammañāṇa Thera, an inhabitant of Pagan. He also translated into Pali the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra*.⁸

Chappaccaya-dīpanī.—It is a work on Pali prosody, written by Saddhammañāṇa Thera, an inhabitant of Pagan.⁹

Dhātupāṭha.—It was written prior to the *Dhātumañjūsā* belonging to the school of Kaccāyana.¹⁰

Dhātuvatthadīpanī.—This metrical work contains a re-arrangement of the roots mentioned in Aggavaṃsa's *Saddanīti*.¹¹

Nayalakkhanavibhāvanī.—This grammatical treatise was written by the Burmese Thera Vicittācāra in the second half of the eighteenth century A.D.¹²

Padavibhāga.—It is a grammatical treatise written by the Burmese Thera Nāṇalaṅkāra.¹³

¹ *GV.*, pp. 63, 73; Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 15f., 16, fn. 1; *JPTS.*, 1908, pp. 92ff.; Subhūti, *Nāma-mālā*, Intro., p. lxix; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 38, fn. 2; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 571.

² Bode, *PLB.*, p. 26; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 57.

³ Ed. in Sinhalese by W. Nāṇatilaka, Welitara, Ceylon, 1898 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 142).

⁴ *GV.*, pp. 64, 65, 75.

⁵ *SV.*, p. 98; for further details, vide Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 41ff.; cf. also *JPTS.*, 1896, p. 50, No. 164; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 57; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 181.

⁶ *GV.*, pp. 59, 65; *Svd.*, vv. 1233ff.; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 38; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 79.

⁷ B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638.

⁸ Fausböll, *JPTS.*, 1896, pp. 51, 52; *Piṭakatthamain*, p. 74; Bode, *PLB.*, p. 26; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 922, 926; II, 1017.

⁹ Bode, *PLB.*, p. 26; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 926.

¹⁰ Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 56.

¹¹ Vide R. O. Franke, *Pali Grammatik*, pp. 58f., 63f.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, p. 636, fn. 1.

¹² Vide Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 58; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 636.

¹³ Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 71, 77; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 131.

Padasādhana.¹—The *Padasādhana*, also called the *Padasodhana* or *Padasādinī*, forms an abridged version of Moggallāna's grammar. It is, therefore, sometimes called the *Moggallāna-saddattharatnākara*. This treatise consists of six chapters dealing with Pali *sadda*, *sandhi*, *samāsa*, verbs, prefixes and suffixes. It was composed towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. by Piyadassī Thera who was a pupil of the grammarian Moggallāna and lived in the Devarāja Vihāra in Ceylon.²

Payogasiddhi.—This work is considered to be one of the best and comprehensive Pali grammars belonging to the school of Moggallāna. The authorship of this work is ascribed to Vanaratana Medhaṅkara (= Medhaṅkara III) of Ceylon, who lived in the time of King Bhuvanekabāhu III (thirteenth century A.D.) as an incumbent of the Vijayabāhupariveṇa, built by King Vijayabāhu I.³

Bālāvatāra.—The *Bālāvatāra* is the most important and popular handbook of Pali grammar produced in Ceylon in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. It consists of seven chapters. It is based on the Kaccāyana, and in it the aphorisms of Kaccāyana have been treated in a more systematic and concise form. According to some, it was written by Thera Dhammakitti, the author of the *Saddhammasaṅgaha* (Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., pp. xxivf; cf. Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 51), whereas the *Gandhavamsa* (pp. 62, 71) clearly records that, at the instance of the three Theras, namely, Sumaṅgala, Buddhāmitta and Mahākassapa, the teacher Vāciṣṣara composed this treatise together with the *Sambandhacintā-tīkā* and the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa-tīkā*. This Vāciṣṣara is further represented as the author of eighteen treatises on a variety of subjects.⁴

Bālāvatāra-tīkā.—This *tīkā* on the *Bālāvatāra* was written probably in the fifteenth century A.D. by the Burmese Thera Uttama on his own initiative, when he lived in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma. This Uttama was also the author of the *Liṅgatthavivarana-tīkā*.⁵

Mukhamattadīpanī.—The *Mukhamattadīpanī*, also called the *Nyāsa*, is a Pali grammatical treatise of outstanding merit. It forms the oldest and best commentary on the *Kaccāyanayoga*. It was written by the teacher Mahā Vimalabuddhi, probably in the eleventh century A.D. (Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 38). According to some, Mahā

¹ Ed. in Sinhalese by Dhammānanda and Nāṇissara, Colombo, 1887.

² Vide Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., p. xxxviii; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 54; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, pp. 635ff.; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 201, 205; *DPPN.*, II, 131, 207.

³ *GV.*, pp. 62, 72; Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., p. xlv; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 54; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 230 f.

⁴ Vide also Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 217, 243ff.; *DPPN.*, II, 279, 849f.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635, fn. 3.

⁵ *GV.*, pp. 63, 67, 73; cf. Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., p. xxvi; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 51; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635, fn. 3.

Vimalabuddhi was a monk of Ceylon, while according to others, he lived in the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) in Upper Burma. This author also wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Nyāsa*.¹

Mukhamattasāra.—This grammatical treatise is attributed to the teacher Sāgara, better known as Guṇasāgara, an inhabitant of Pagan in Upper Burma (*GV.*, pp. 63, 67; *SV.*, p. 76). This work is said to have been composed by its author at the request of the religious teacher of the Burmese king Kyocvā (*GV.*, p. 73). It can, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the fifteenth century A.D.²

Moggallāna-pañcīkā.—It is a commentary on Moggallāna's grammar. It is also called simply the *Pañcīkā*. This commentary is now lost. According to some, it was written by the grammarian Moggallāna himself (Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 53), while others hold that it was one of the works of the Ceylonese Thera Sāriputta (*GV.*, pp. 61, 67, 71; *Svd.*, vv. 1203, 1244), who was called Sāgaramati on account of his erudition (*Saddhammasaṅgaha*, p. 63), and who lived during the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153–1186 A.D.) of Ceylon.

Moggallānavyākaraṇa.³—This work represents one of the three main systems of Pali grammar. It was produced in Ceylon by Thera Moggallāna on his own initiative. It is also called the *Saddalakkhana*. This work of Moggallāna is, however, better known as the *Moggallāna* or *Moggallāna-vyākaraṇa*, precisely as the grammar of Kaccāyana is generally called the *Kaccāyana* or *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. Moggallāna's grammar shows an improvement on the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* from which it differs remarkably not only in the arrangement and grouping of the roots but also in the terminology. Like the grammarian Kaccāyana, Moggallāna also utilized the older Pali grammars, along with the *Kātantra* and the works of Pāṇini and Candragomin. It is perhaps later than the *Saddanīti*. Moggallāna lived in the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura, Ceylon, in the second half of the twelfth century A.D.⁴

Rūpasiddhi.⁵—It is a standard book of Pali grammar. It is variously known as the *Padarūpasiddhi*, the *Rūpasiddhipakarana* or the *Mahārūpasiddhi*. It consists of seven chapters, and in the last chapter it treats of *kitakas* and *unādi*. The mode of treatment of this work is almost similar to that of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, on which it is based. This work was composed by a Buddhist

¹ *GV.*, pp. 60, 67, 70; *Sv.*, p. 75; *Svd.*, vv. 1223, 1236; for details, vide Bode, *PLB.*, p. 21; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635, fn. 1; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. ix; *JPTS.*, 1896, p. 47; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 204; *DPPN.*, II, 87, 638, 892.

² Cf. Bode, *PLV.*, p. 25; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, II, 636.

³ Ed. in Sinhalese by H. Devamitta, Colombo 1890 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 147).

⁴ *GV.*, pp. 61, 66, 70; *Svd.*, v. 1251; Subhūti, *Nāmamālā*, Intro., p. xxx; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 179ff.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 62, 505, 635; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 53.

⁵ Ed. by Grunwedel, Berlin, 1883; Sinhalese edition by M. Guṇaratana, Colombo, 1897 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 146).

monk named Dīpaṅkara Buddhappiya in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. In the colophon the author introduces himself as an inhabitant of the Coḷa country in South India. He went to Ceylon for study where he completed his course under Thera Ānanda Vanaratana, and became famous as Coḷiya Dīpaṅkara. He was also the author of the *Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā* and the *Summapañca-sutta*.¹

Vuttodaya.²—The *Vuttodaya*, which literally means an exposition of metres, is a valuable work on Pali prosody. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. It deals only with the *Lokiyacchanda* (popular prosody), and includes in it both *Mattābheda* and *Vanna-bheda*. The *Vuttodaya* is evidently based on some earlier Sanskrit works on post-Vedic metre. Both in terminology and in the method of treatment there is an agreement between it and Piṅgala's work. In the Colophon it is stated that the book was composed by Samgharakkhita Thera who is believed to be a pupil of Sāriputta and Medhaṅkara of Ceylon. This work, therefore, belongs to the twelfth century A.D. Although Samgharakkhita also wrote many other treatises, he became famous as *Vuttodayakāra*.³

Saddanīti.⁴—The *Saddanīti* is one of the most important Pali grammars. It had its origin in Burma, where it is still regarded as a classic. This work was composed in 1154 A.D. by the Burmese Thera Aggavaṃsa on his own initiative.⁵ This Aggavaṃsa became the religious teacher of King Narapatisithu who reigned at Pagan from 1167 A.D. to 1204 A.D. The *Saddanīti* is considered to be 'the most comprehensive' Pali grammar.⁶ In the colophon it is clearly stated that this treatise is based on the works of the ancient teachers and on the canonical texts. In fact, it contains materials not only from the Pali *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* but also from Sanskrit grammars, such as those of Pāṇini and others. It illustrates grammatical rules with ample quotations from the canonical texts. This work is divided into three parts: *Padamālā*, *Dhātumālā*, and *Suttamālā*. It consists of 27 chapters. Of these, the first eighteen chapters are called the *Mahāsaddanīti* and the remaining nine are called the

¹ *GV.*, pp. 60, 66, 70; *Svd.*, v. 1260; *Saddhammasaṅgaha*, p. 65; Subhūti, *Nāma-mālā*, Intro., p. xxi; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 50ff.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 635; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 220ff.; *DPPN.*, II, 309, 750.

² Published by Fryer in *JASB.*, 1877; edited with Sinhalese paraphrase by Vimāla-joti, Colombo 1888 (*JPTS.*, 1912, p. 154); also edited in Roman character with an English translation by R. Siddhartha in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1-54.

³ *GV.*, pp. 61, 67, 70; *Svd.*, vv. 1209-10; cf. *JPTS.*, 1896, pp. 46, 48, 51; G. E. Fryer in *JASB.*, Vol. XLVI, pt. I; Geiger, *PLS.*, p. 57; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, pp. 197 ff.; *DPPN.*, II, 914, 991.

⁴ Ed. in Roman by Helmer Smith in three parts, London, 1928-30.

⁵ *GV.*, pp. 63, 67, 72; *Svd.*, v. 1238.

⁶ C. Duroselle, *BEFEO.*, tome v, p. 147, note.

Cullasaddanīti. The *Saddanīti* was, as pointed out by Mabel Bode, 'the first return-gift of Burma to Ceylon'.¹ According to the *Sāsanavamsa* (pp. 40, 74), a few years after its completion a copy of the *Saddanīti* was carried from Pagan to Ceylon by the Burmese Thera Uttarājīva who gave it as a present to the dwellers of the Mahāvihāra. Some of the monks of Ceylon who were doubtful about the erudition of the Burmese monks in grammatical studies, went to Pagan, where they found and examined the *Saddanīti* in original, which they then declared superior to all grammatical treatises written in Ceylon.²

Subodhālankāra.³—It is a very important and learned treatise on Pali rhetoric and prosody. It was composed by the Ceylonese Thera Saṃgharakkhita, on his own initiative, in the second half of the twelfth century A.D. This author was the pupil of Sāriputta and Medaṅkara, and he wrote many other treatises including the *Vuttodaya*. There are two important *ṭīkā*s on it.⁴

¹ *JPTS.*, 1908, p. 88.

² Cf. Bode, *PLB.*, pp. 16 f.; Subhūti, *Nāmaṃālā*, Intro., p. xlviii; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 54 f.; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 636, fn. 1; Malalasekera, *DPPN.*, I, 9; II, 1015.

³ Ed. with Sinhalese paraphrase by Paṇḍit Dharmasena, Colombo, 1909 (*JPTS.*, 1912, pp. 151 f.).

⁴ *GV.*, pp. 61, 62, 66, 70; *Svd.*, vv. 1209, 1210, 1256; cf. also *JPTS.*, 1896, pp. 46, 48, 51; *JASB.*, vol. XLIV, pt. I; Geiger, *PLS.*, pp. 32, 46, 57; B. C. Law, *HPL.*, II, 638; Malalasekera, *PLC.*, p. 199 f.; *DPPN.*, II, 1226.

YAŠOVARMMAN OF KANAUJ

By ADRIS BANERJĪ

In 1900 the late Sir Auriel Stein stated ruefully, 'Scarcely any historical data are as yet available regarding King Yašovarmman of Kānyakubja, apart from our notice in our passage though we have a historical poem dealing with Yašovarmman's victory over an unnamed Gauḍa king in Vākpati's *Gaudavaho*.'¹ Since almost half a century has elapsed, the British rule in India has come to an end, with the exception of a solitary epigraph found in the ruins of Nalanda, very little fresh information has reached us.

* * * * *

The death of Harsha marked the end of an age. He was not the last Hindu emperor, but the last great Buddhist emperor of India. Neither Dharmmapāla, nor Devapāla, neither Mahīpāla I nor Rāmapāla could claim that undoubted suzerainty over the greater portion of the *Āryāvartta*, and that profound patronage of Buddhism, which the last scion of the House of Pushpabhūti can claim from posterity. As an empire-builder, as an administrator, he probably failed, unlike Chandragupta or Samudragupta, to give his dynasty a permanency, but as an author, as a warrior, as a patron of learning, arts and religion he was undoubtedly the last of the 'Barons'.

SOURCES

1. *Gaudavaho* by Vākpatirāja, a *Prākṛit* historical *kāvya* edited by S. P. Pandit, in the old Bombay Sanskrit Series. I was informed while at Sarnath that a relation of his, the late R. S. Pandit, was engaged in preparing a fresh edition. But his sad and untimely death must have put an end to his efforts.

2. Nalanda Inscription of the time of Yašovarmman. This interesting inscription in high-flown Sanskrit was discovered a few years ago at Nalanda. It is a Buddhist document, and its object is to record that Mālāda, the son of Yašovarmmadeva's minister, who is called *Mārgapati*, as well as *Udichīpati* and *Pratita-Tikina*, made certain gifts to the community of *Bhikṣus* and to the temple erected by King Bālāditya at Nalanda in honour of the 'son of Śuddhodana', i.e. the Buddha. It extols Yašovarmman in hyperbolic terms as the *lokapāla* (guardian of the world), who 'has risen after

¹ Kalhaṇa's *Chronicles of Kings of Kashmir*, footnote to IV. 134, p. 132.

placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely removed the terrific darkness in the form of all his foes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword'.¹ Dr. Hirananda Sastri thought that he is identical with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscriptions, and further corrected the latter's name into Yaśovarmman.² But Dr. R. C. Majumdar correctly pointed out that there is no warrant for the above assumption.

3. Ghosrawan Inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva, which gives a biographical account of an abbot of Nalanda in the reign of the second monarch of the Pala dynasty.

4. Kalhana's *Rājatarāṅginī*, critically edited by the late Sir M. A. Stein and translated by the late R. S. Pandit, from Allahabad, entitled *The River of Kings*.

5. Some crude coins of the Indo-Scythian type bearing the name Yaśovarmman.³

An evaluation of the character and contents of the sources is *prima facie* necessary, before deductions are made from it. Vāk-patirāja, the author of the only book *Gaudavaho*, was a court poet of Yaśovarmman, along with Bhavabhūti, the author of *Mālaticā* and *Uttararāmacharitam*. He shares with Kalhana and Sandhyākaranandin the merit of having ever approached the duties of what in modern times are known as official historiographer. To say that Kalhana was an official historiographer would be doing an injustice to him, as his family received very little patronage after the death of Harsha. He (Vākpati) is supposed to be a *Kshatriya* of the Paramāra clan. To do justice to Vākpati he never takes the credit of writing an *itihāsa*, but on request, he was writing a complete narrative of the manner in which Yaśovarmman killed the king of Magadha, who is no other than the lord of Gauda, from which the book takes its name.⁴ But in fact, the murder of the king of Gauda occupies only six couplets, including the campaign and the battle, so that even an embarrassed commentator has to explain this shortcoming of the poet.⁵ This has led to a plausible conjecture that it was prelude to another work which has either not reached us, or never written, due to the conquest of the Kāṇyakubja kingdom by Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa. Nowhere any attempt has been made to guise this work as a serious treatise on history, but throughout it claims to be a *kāvya*. Its faithful adherence to prosody, invocation to former poets, conclusively prove the intentions of the author. Yet this happens to be our major source of information about his

¹ R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 205.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 40.

³ Smith, *Cat. Coins Ind. Mus.*, vol. I, p. 268; Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 44, note 20.

⁴ *Gaudavaho*, v. 844.

⁵ See comment on couplet 416, p. 420.

conquests. Therefore proper estimation of this work is so important for the reign of Yaśovarmman of Kanauj.

The first quality that marks the work is the brevity of the historical disquisition which, though disappointing in some respect, makes his account all the more interesting; take for example, he does not mention the name of the lord of Magadha. Vaṅga or any monarch who opposed him.

Ghosrawan Inscription of the time of Devapāladeva states that Vīradeva visited the *vihāra* at Yaśovarmmapura. This is probably the city founded in Magadha by the king. The same place is also mentioned in the Nalanda Inscription of Mālāda.¹

In the *T'ang* annals it is stated that Yaśovarmman (*I-cha-fon-mo*) sent an embassy to the emperor of China. M. M. Chavannes and Levi thought that this embassy must have taken place between 734 and 747 A.D.

According to Vākpati, Yaśovarmman seems to have been *bhāgvata*, because except in one place he is compared with Hari, Keśava, the various forms of Viṣṇu. Finally, he belonged to the lunar race. The late Jain work *Bappabhaṭṭasuricharita*, makes him a member of the Maurya dynasty. The same is the case with *Prabhāvaka-charita*, quoted by Dr. R. S. Tripathi.² In fact, the appearance of Yaśovarmman at Kanauj, has antecedents as well as the subsequent history of his dynasty, remains few of the unsolved mysteries of Indian history—just as the Nalanda Inscription has proved the historicity of Vākpati's claims as far as the conquest of Magadha is concerned, a happy find of another epigraph might help us one day. The excavations of Ghosrawan or Kanauj itself might be of great help.

Following the tradition of Indian poets and *smṛitis*, Yaśovarmman starts from his capital Kanauj on *digvijaya*. He first arrives in the valley of the Son, and from there he proceeds to the Vindhya hills; the locality is settled by the mention of Vindhyaśasini, guided by a *Savara*. That is the modern Vindhychal, in Mirzapur district of the United Provinces. From this region Yaśovarmman proceeded towards Magadha. The king of Magadha was frightened by Yaśovarmman, but his vassals decided to make a stand in which the king of Magadha was killed. Yaśovarmman seems to have captured the ladies of the royal family, because subsequently while describing a *sabhā* of Yaśovarmman on his return to his capital, Vākpati poetically describes the queens of the king of Magadha plying the flywhisk as a token of having been turned into slaves.³ Evidently, the custom prevailed in India in turning ladies of royal rank into slaves when conquered. It appears that there was only one battle

¹ *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXIV, pts. I and II.

² Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

³ vv. 695-97.

and the whole of Magadha and Gauḍa fell into the hands of the Kanauj king. Magadha was southern Bihar, and Gauḍa was northern Bengal-part of Puṇḍra, probably the area in or about modern districts of Maldah, Rajshahi, Purnea in Bihar. Thus the Barrackpur Inscription of Vijayasena tells us that he impetuously assailed the lord of Gauḍa, whom he was not able to vanquish, so that it had to be conquered by his grandson Lakshmanasena who assumed the title of Gauḍeśvara.¹ As Vijayasena practically ruled the whole of Bengal, including Rāḍhā, Samatāṭa, Suhma and Varendrī, the geographical position of Gauḍa becomes quite clear. After defeating the king of Gauḍa, the Kanauj monarch arrived at the seacoast perfumed by cardamon and full of plantation of cocoa palms.² This area has always received the most poetic embellishments from the most famous poets. Kalidāsa, while describing the *digvijaya* of Raghu, tells us:

Dūr=ādayaś=chakra-nibhasya tanvī tamāla-tālī-vana-rāji-nīlā |
Ābhāti velā lavaṇāmbu-rāser=dhārā-nibaddheva kalaṅka-rekhā |

A little earlier Yaśodharmman's court poet had also sung in the same manner.³

Then the poet describes the defeat of the king of Vaṅga, who was considered powerful by possession of war elephants. Strange as it may seem, the king of Vaṅga seems to have specialized in possessing war elephants, which distinguished him from other princelings. About three centuries later, we find the same description in the Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rajendra-chola, where claim is made that the general of Rajendra-chola captured his elephants and women.⁴ This Vaṅga is generally taken to be the whole of Bengal, but originally it represented a portion of it, namely, the south-eastern Bengal,⁵ comprising the modern districts of Dacca, Bakerganj, Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur and Noakhali. From Vaṅga he passed through fields and by flocks of deers sitting at their ease, and crossing the Mālaya mountain, accepted the submission of the king of the southern region⁶ and then arrived on the eastern seacoast, which is poetically identified with the place where proud Rāvaṇa was humiliated by Vālī. The whole campaign is very summarily treated, but the description leaves no doubt that the Kanauj army crossed into Utkala by the Midnapur region, and crossing the mountainous and jungle-clad area, now known as *Garhjat* States of Orissa,

¹ vv. 20-23. *JBORS.*, vol. XXV, 'Extent of Sena Kingdom', etc.

² v. 418, p. 120.

³ Mandasor Inscription in *CII.*, vol. III, p. 146. The place offered a safe refuge in times of invasions, with its innumerable canals, jungles and swamps. Cf. Haraha Inscription of Iśānavarmman, *EI*, vol. XIV, p. 117 and R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 3.

⁴ *EI.*, vol. IX, pp. 232-33.

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1935, pp. 665-6.

⁶ v. 423.

arrived in the southern land. From there, according to his court poet he turned north-west, and visiting the place where Rāvaṇa offered his ten heads to the god Śiva (that is, Gokarṇa-Mahabaleshwar) went still northward, when he is said to have defeated the lord of the *Pāraśika* colony (*janapada-patina*). The Persians have played a great rôle in the history of India, since Achaemenid times, and have always been met with in western India. The researches of Prof S. H. Hodivala in his *Studies in Parsi History* and Mr. S. K. Hodivala, who has culled together almost all the references to the Parsis contained in epigraphic records, literary works and traditional accounts in his *Parsis of Ancient India*, have shown the truthfulness of the above hypothesis. The Persian conquests of Baluchistan, Sindh, Cutch and the Punjab are now well known.¹ But by the fifth century of the Christian era, most of these areas were reoccupied by the Imperial Guptas from whom they were wrested by the Hūṇas. But possibly in some unknown corner or inaccessible spot a small percentage existed, independently of all the changes that had taken place in the political stage of northern India. Balādhuri in his *Kitāb Futuh al Buldān* mentions Iranian and Turkish colonies in Mekran and Kalat describing Muhammad ibn al Kāsim's successful expedition against Deval. It is possible, however, that the *Pāraśika* colony referred to implies Sanjan, where a large number of Iranians settled down, whatever be the historicity of Kisse Sanjan.

From there Yaśovarman reaches the banks of the Narmadā and the western ocean, by which probably Sindh is mentioned, and rested there for a while. From Sindh the Kanauj army reaches Marudeśa or Marumāḍa or modern Marwar, whose deserts, we are told, were infested with elephants(?) and lions.² It was from this Marumāḍa, or rather from its principal city Bhillamāla, that Kanauj was to receive its greatest dynasty, later in history. From Marudeśa, Yaśovarman went to Śrī-Kaṇṭha or Thāneśvar. From Thāneśvar he visited Kurukshetra near Karnal, and from there he went to Ayodhya. After Ayodhya a poetical description is given of hard fighting in the Himalayas, which might refer to Basti and the Terai region.

DATE OF YAŚOVARMMAN

Nothing practically is known about the date of Yaśovarman; except the solitary inscription of Mālāda, found in the ruins of Nalanda, no other epigraph of Yaśovarman is known to us. I have a suspicion that when Mālāda made this gift, Yaśovarman had already passed away. Because it is a *pari passu* notice of the monarch, and he is not noticed with the usual imperial titles ending

¹ *IHQ.*, vol. XIII, pp. 105-116; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin, 1924.

² v. 471, p. 134.

in *vijayī*. There are, however, two other synchronisms which to a certain extent fix his dates. Panthier, quoted by Chavannes and Levi, has suggested the identity of Yaśovarmman (*I-cha-fon-mo*) with the king of central India, who sent in 731 A.D. his minister *Seng-po-ta* to the Chinese court.¹ The *Annals* of the *T'ang* dynasty of China further mention that after the first Chinese attack on Baltistan (736-47 A.D.), Muktāpīḍa sent an embassy to Emperor *Hiun-Tsang* (c. 713-55 A.D.). The king requested an alliance against Tibetans, and stated that he had made a common front with the king of central India and had closed the five routes of Tibet.² Since two centuries, the Tibetans had become really very powerful and are reported to have made extensive conquests. We learn from the French *savant* Sylvain Levi that during the years that followed the death of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, 'Eastern India' and the other neighbouring territories of Tibet were dominated by them. The real foundation of this greatness was laid by *Lonn-tsanso-lung-tsan* (c. 581-600 A.D.) who united the various hilly tribes of the land. His son, *Srong-btsan-sgam-po*, extended the dominions in all directions. By force he married a Nepal princess and for the next two centuries Nepal remained a part of the Tibetan empire. He is said to have been master of half of India. *Srong-btsan-sgam-po* died about 650 A.D. His grandson maintained his hold over Indian dominions. But decline set in from the end of this reign. During the series of minorities and regencies that followed, Indian dominions were probably lost to the Tibetan Government. China reconquered her provinces and, while the Tibetan army was engaged with the aggressors, the Indian provinces together with Nepal probably revolted. Nepal was subdued again, but our further information about India is singularly inconclusive.³

This decline of the Tibetan supremacy practically coincides with the rise of Yaśovarmman and, even later, that of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa, a new luminary in the political horizon of Kashmir. The Chinese expedition to Baltistan made a great impression on political India, and it is also appreciable that during the great days of Tibetan imperialism the lot of the little kingdom of Kashmir had not been enviable. What is more interesting possibly is that Yaśovarmman's Himalayan expedition had something to do with this. It might have been towards the Nepal border conterminous with Basti or Kumaun and Garhwal. Unless Yaśovarmman's frontier coincided with that of Tibet, it is incomprehensible how he

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 353. Mentioned by Stein.

² Stein, *Chronicles of Kashmir*, footnote 126.

³ Levi, *Le Nepal*, vol. II, pp. 146ff. and 173ff. During his explorations of Khotan and other sites in Chinese Turkestan, considerable Tibetan records were found by Sir M. A. Stein.

could have closed the gates leading into Tibet. The Kashmir king certainly could not have issued on a *digvijaya* unless the home front had been safe, and at this time he seems to have remained in alliance with Yašovarmman. This alliance should not be confused with that mentioned by Kalhaṇa, which we shall have occasion to discuss subsequently, because due to imperious intervention of Mitraśarman the treaty was never concluded. Particular stress on this alliance seems to have been laid by Lalitāditya's ambassadors, because it seems to have been well known to Kashmir court that, thanks to the embassy of 731 A.D., Yašovarmman enjoyed some prestige in the imperial court of China. Therefore we shall not be wrong in assuming that the date of Yašovarmman lay in the first two quarters of the eighth century of the Christian era, probably between c. 720 and 750 A.D. Dr. R. S. Tripathi puts the date to c. 725-52 A.D.¹

DISCUSSION

There are indications that he was actually regarded as a king of considerable active habits. His army is referred to in praiseworthy manner by Kalhaṇa.² His embassy to the emperor of China, which was also followed by his conqueror Lalitāditya too, shows his attempts at wide diplomatic intercourse.³ In order to appreciate his actual achievement, it is necessary to realize the extent of his kingdom. Kalhaṇa in one place says that the land of Kānyakubja was between the Yamunā and the Kāli-Nadī probably the Kali-Sindh in the Farrukhabad district.⁴ Stein, however, has considered it improbable. In another place Kalhaṇa refers to the Doab between the Ganges and the Yamunā, the area known in ancient times as *Antarvedi*. This was probably the true extent of the kingdom when he came into power or ascended the throne. The southern and eastern U.P. probably were then either under Jivitagupta II or any of his feudatories who no longer acknowledged him. Yašovarmman probably marched from Kanauj to Jaunpur and thence to Banaras, because he certainly did not cross the hilly regions of Mirzapur, which he visited later on after he had arrived at the Son valley, probably Son=*āntarāla-vishaya*, mentioned in one of the sealings found at Nalanda. He then visited Vindhya-vāsinī, led by a *Savara*, where he seems to have spent the summer and the monsoon. On hearing his approach, *Magadhanātha*, we are told, beat a hasty retreat. Probably he evacuated his ancient capital Pātaliputra and retired to a more inaccessible region. The identity of this king of Magadha has been established long ago by Ramaprasad Chanda as Jivitagupta II.

¹ *History of Kanauj*, pp. 194-97.

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 353.

² *Rājataranginī*, IV, pp. 133-34.

⁴ *Rāja.*, IV, 145.

The question now arises: where did *Magadha* retire, so that he could defend himself against this upstart from Kanauj? There are several places in ancient Magadha to which he could have gone. The first was the hill tracts of Shahabad and Rohtas, because this area was, as late as Sher Khān's time, full of impassable jungle and populated with Cheroes, a wild tribe, one of whom, Mahāratha, was defeated by him.¹ The next region was the Kharagpur hills in the Monghyr district, which was never even conquered by the Muslims. The third area was Jhārkhaṇḍa. But there is more precise indication that he retired towards his ancient capital Rajgir and Nawadah hills. Yaśovarmman is credited with having founded a town in his name in Magadha. This was known as 'Yaśovarmmapura' and is referred to in at least two epigraphs. The Ghosrawan Inscription first brought the matter to our notice, and along with Kielhorn I have identified it with Ghosrawan in my paper 'An Abbot of Nalanda'. This village is situated only two miles distant from the Giryek spur of Rajgir hills. If the battle had taken place elsewhere, there seems to have been no meaning in establishing a town so far away from the actual place of occurrence. Probably it was set up on the very battlefield. 'Such a practice was not uncommon in ancient times, and we may recall that Alexander similarly marked his victory by the foundation of two towns one named Nikaia, situated on the battlefield, and the other called Boukephela, located at a point whence Alexander started to cross the Hydaspes'.² Another indication is that the royal ladies fell into the hands of the conqueror. Unless there were habitations in the neighbourhood they could not have suffered this fate.

Having defeated and slain him, he passes on to enter Bengal. This he could have done either through the Teliagarhi and Sikrigali in the Santal Pargana or through Jharkhand area as Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khālji or Sher Khān did in later history. For centuries Garhi or Teliagarhi has been the gateway to Bengal giving access to that portion of Bengal which contains the ruins of Gauda, etc. From Gauda he goes to the seacoast perfumed by cardamon and full of plantations of cocoa palm, meaning southern Bengal. It is difficult to determine the identity of the king of Bengal, because the identity of the dynasty that ruled in Vaṅga is a moot point. According to one authority the Khadgas were then ruling in Bengal,³ whereas R. D. Banerji on palaeographic grounds relegated them to the tenth century A.D. It is, however, clear that the king of Vaṅga was allowed to exist as a vassal. This shows that a special treatment was meted out by Yaśovarmman to the Māgadha king who

¹ K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 12. Calcutta, 1921.

² R. S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

³ *JASB (NS)*, vol. XIX, pp. 375-79.

paid with his life and whose queens were turned into slaves. Throughout his series of conquests several kings are mentioned, but none seems to have shared the fate of Jīvitagupta II nor Vākpati makes any special endeavour to trumpet their defeat.

From Vaṅga he passes through fertile plains and jungles, but here Vākpati is probably guilty of a geographical error. The Mālaya mountain, which he says Yaśovarman crossed, was still further off, its another name being *Chandanādri*. What he did was to cross the jungle tracts of Orissa, portions of Eastern Ghats and arrive in Koṅgoda or southern Tośala. The king referred to as *dakṣina-diśa narindena* is probably a Śailodbhava king.¹ The whole southern campaign and the northern campaign, too, after *Marudeśa* is treated so summarily, that it is very difficult to discuss them. His northern conquests receive certain amount of corroboration from the Nalanda Inscription of Mālāda, whose father is described as a *Tikina*, probably from Turki Tegin, who was probably the *maréchal* of the northern frontier (*Udichapati*). It appears that at this time many Turks, forerunners of Alaptegin and Sabuktegin, as Buddhists as well as Hindus, accepted services in the court of Indian potentates like *Sāhis* in Kashmir. The return of Yaśovarman from Kurukshetra was rather made by circuitous route; instead of travelling direct to his capital, he marched on Ayodhya, the homeland of the Guptas, probably through Saharanpur and Rohilkhand.

Yaśovarman's glory was short-lived. Because King Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa of Kashmir put an end to his empire. Kalhaṇa in his *magnum opus* devotes 11 verses to Yaśovarman's defeat and end. His meteoric rise and end was similar, a fact whose analogy is not to be found in the history of any nation on the earth. Just as he appears on the pages of Indian history without antecedents, without any history, so he disappears from the political stage without leaving any trace. It appears that some time after 747 A.D. Yaśovarman was defeated by Lalitāditya; at first the Kashmir king probably decided to allow him to continue, but due to the intervention of Mitraśarmman, who is alleged to have found a technical error in drawing up of the treaty, Yaśovarman was either killed or deposed.² There was much to be said in favour of Yaśovarman, and it is evident that officers of the Kashmir court prevailed upon to end his rule. The situation, as explained by the late Sir Auriel Stein, seems to have been: 'The translation of the verses is not quite certain. They seem to refer to an objection raised by Lalitāditya's ministers at the time of peace negotiations to the form of the treaty document to be furnished by Yaśovarman. It appears that diplomatic usage could have empowered each of the

¹ *HO.*, vol. I, pp. 121-35.

² *Chronicles of Kashmir*, IV, vv. 137-40, pp. 132-33.

"contracting parties" to put his name first in his own copy of the treaty, copies to be subsequently exchanged between the two parties after ratification. Mitraśarmman refuses to accept the document drawn up in this form by Yaśovarmman's chancery, and Lalitāditya then breaks off the negotiations.¹ There is, however, one interesting information supplied by Kalhaṇa, which requires to be noted before ending our discussion. Verse 144 mentions Vākpatirāja and the same verse tells us that by his defeat Yaśovarmman became the panygærist of Lalitāditya. This is possibly a veiled allusion to *Gaudavaho*, and Yaśovarmman's defeat probably never enabled Vākpatirāja to finish the poem or to write in detail on the killing of the king of Gauḍa as he promised so many times in his work.

¹ *Chronicles of Kashmir*, footnote to vv. 137-38, pp. 132-33.

THE FAUNA IN PĀṆINI'S *ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ*

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Man is indebted to a great extent to animals both for his food and transport. Agriculture and dairy industry, the principal sources of food supply, depend largely on the care of the livestock. Animals have also been of useful service to man in times of war and peace for covering distances. It would be interesting to know how man in ancient India reacted to his faunal environment. A comprehensive study of animal life and its use to man as depicted in the *Saṃhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* literature, *Sūtras*, *Epics*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Aśoka* Edicts, *Āyurveda* and *Dharmaśāstra* works would fill up the pages of a full volume. We discuss below the relevant evidence from the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.

CLASSIFICATION

For purposes of his treatise Pāṇini divides creation into two natural and fundamental divisions, viz. animate (*prāṇin*, IV, 3, 135, 154, etc.) and inanimate (*aprāṇin*, II, 4, 6; V, 4, 97, etc.). These two categories are further expressed as *chittavat* (V, 1, 89) and *achitta* (IV, 2, 47). The word *prāṇabhṛt* is also once substituted for *prāṇin* (V, 1, 129). The animate creatures are further subdivided into men (*manushya*, IV, 2, 134) and animals (*paśu*, III, 3, 69). The animals in their turn were grouped as domesticated animals (*grāmya-paśu-saṃgha*, I, 2, 73) to be distinguished from wild animals, or on the basis of their size as *kshudra-jantus* (II, 4, 8), or on the basis of food as *kravyād*, carnivora (III, 2, 69). Pre-Pāṇinian attempts at classification are reflected in such words as *ubhayatodanta* (having teeth in both jaws), *anyatodanta* (having teeth in one jaw), *dvipād*, *chatuṣpād*, *ekasāpha* (uncloven hoofed), and *kshudra*, etc. (*Vedic Index*, vol. I, 510). *Aves* (*śakuni*, II, 4, 12) form a well-recognized group and are distinguished from *paśus* or animals proper (II, 4, 12). *Mṛiga* generally denotes a wild beast in the *Ashtādhyāyī* (IV, 3, 51; IV, 4, 35), but in *sūtra* II, 4, 12 its use is confined to the *cervidae*, which is illustrated by Patañjali as *ruru-prishatam*, denoting two species of deer.

ANIMALS NAMED

I. Elephant (*hastin*, V, 2, 133). *Nāga* and *kuñjara* are also given as its names (II, 1, 62). A big trumpeting elephant with prominent trunk was called *śundāra* (V, 3, 88). A herd of elephants was called *hāstika* (IV, 2, 47). The height of an elephant is also

referred to as a measure (V, 2, 38), which had reference probably to the depth of a moat or the height of a rampart, both of which were measured in old times in terms of the elephant-measure. The tusk is referred to in V, 2, 113 as *danta*, which was the source of ivory, giving *dantāvala* as the name of a tusker. Strength to kill or shoot an elephant was considered a distinction conferring the title *hastighna* (III, 2, 54), and possibly soldiers with such strength were prized recruits for the army. A goad or a whip was called *tottra* (III, 2, 182). The technical word *vidhā* for the forage of elephants known to the *Arthaśāstra* is not mentioned by Pāṇini. Patañjali, however, refers to *hasti-vidhā* on *vārttika*, II, 1, 36. 3 (*Bhāshya*, I, 388).

2. Camel (*ushtra*, IV, 3, 157). Pāṇini refers to droves of camels called *aushtṛaka* (IV, 2, 39) and makes allusion to the young ones of a camel (*karabha*) kept under check with a chain as *śṛinkhalaka* (V, 2, 79). He also mentions practised camel riders (*ushtra-sādi*, VI, 2, 40); in the same *sūtra* reference is made to *ushtra-vāmī* camels and mules. It seems that *ushtra-sādis* were dromedary divisions and *ushtra-vāmī* the name of the corps of those animals in the commissariat department of the army.

Pāṇini also mentions the by-products (*vikārāvayava*, IV, 3, 157) of camels called *aushtṛaka*. We can form an idea of such articles from *sūtra* V, 3, 90 in which he speaks of *goṇī* and *goṇītarī*, i.e. sacks of bigger and smaller sizes manufactured from camel-hair, and also from *sūtra* V, 3, 89, referring to *kutū* and *kutupa*, i.e. *kuppas* or huge skin jars employed for carrying oil or ghee, and smaller jars and phials called *kuppis* respectively, in use from early times and manufactured from camel hides and camel intestinal integuments (Watts, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, II, 63-64).

3. *Aśva*. Horse and mare are referred to by a special compound word *aśva-vaḍava* which ended in masculine gender because of the predominance of the horse (II, 4, 27) and which to imply a unity could be optionally used in singular number. Pāṇini's reference to *Pārevaḍavā* (VI, 2, 42), unexplained by commentators, seems to refer to the famous breed of mares imported from across the Indus, as Kautilya also mentions that the best class of horses were those brought from Kamboja, Sindhu, Bāhlika and Sauvīra (*Arth.*, II, 30). A mare in heat was called *aśvasyati* (VII, 1, 51), and charges paid for her covering by a stallion are referred to as *harana*.

Harana. The word *harana* has a technical sense in *sūtra* VI, 2, 65, *Saptamihārīṇaudharmye'harane*. In this *sūtra*, *dharmya* means customary dues, and *harana* was one of such legitimate dues. According to the *Kāśikā*, *harana* is exemplified in the illustration *vāḍava-harana*, which is explained as the money that is paid in order to replenish a horse after he has covered a mare. Such dues may have been in kind or cash, and their payment was an obligatory

charge fixed by custom. The *Mahābhārata* uses *harana* to denote dowry or nuptial presents, in money or kind, which a woman brought to her husband at the time of marriage. The word is used in the special circumstances with reference to the presents conveyed by Kṛishṇa and the Yādavas to Arjuna after the latter's elopement with Subhadrā (*haranam vai Subhadrāyā jñātideyaṁ mahāyaśāḥ*, Ādi., 223, 44). Thus the meaning of the word in the *Mahābhārata* is wider. The *Kāśikā*'s illustration, however, is in order and appears to have been handed down from antiquity.

Āśvina (V, 2, 19). It is explained by Pāṇini as the distance travelled by a horse in one day (*aśvasyaikāhagamah*). The *āśvina* measure of distance is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (VI, 131, 3) and the *Aitareya* and *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇas* (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 70; cf. also Caland's note in the *Pañchaviṁśa Br.*, XXV, 10, 16). The exact distance is not defined, but seems to have exceeded five *yojanas*, since in the *Atharva* it is mentioned immediately after a distance of three and five *yojanas*. Kautilya states six, nine, and twelve *yojanas* as the distance travelled by *rathya* horses of the third, second and first class respectively; and five, eight and ten *yojanas* by cavalry horses (*Arth.*, II, 30). Patañjali says that an average horse goes four *yojanas* a day, whereas a superior horse covers a distance of eight *yojanas* in one day (*Bhāshya*, II, 413). Taking a *yojana* to be about five miles, the *āśvina* distance ranged between twenty-five and sixty miles per day according to the quality of the horse and the unit in which it worked. It may be added that Pāṇini derives the word from *aśva* with *khañ* suffix to denote one day's march, but the *Atharva* uses the form *āśvina* which could be better derived from *aśvin*, a horseman. Patañjali describes *śona*, *hema* and *karka* as special colours (red, black and white) of horses (*Bhāshya*, I, 251).

4. *Khara*, mentioned in connection with the stables for asses, *kharaśāla* (IV, 3, 35).

5. *Aja* (IV, 1, 4; IV, 2, 39). A herd of goats is mentioned as *ājaka*. Goats and sheep were usually mentioned together as *ajāvi* and *ajaiḍa* (cf. the *gaṇa*, *Tishṭhadgu*). Of special interest is the word *jābāla* which denoted a goat-herd, and *mahājābāla* (VI, 2, 38), who must have been a person of greater distinction as the owner of a big ranch, the title being understood as denoting wealth and honour in the tracts where goat-rearing was the main occupation. The etymological derivation of *jābāla* is of interest, as Sanskrit philology has no satisfactory explanation to offer for this word. It appears to be a Semitic loan-word, connected with the Hebrew word *yōbēl* or *jobil* signifying a ram's horn. The association of *yōbēl* with a ram explains the significance of *jābāla* as a goat-herd or one who was in charge of *jābāla*, which may have been a Sanskrit rendering of the original Semitic word.

6. *Avi* (sheep, V, 1, 8), same as *avika* (V, 4, 28). A flock of rams is referred to as *aurabhṛaka* (IV, 2, 39). Kātyāyana mentions *avi-dūsa*, *avi-marīsa*, *avi-soḍha*, all as synonyms of *avi-dugdha* (goat's milk, IV, 2, 36; *Bhāṣhya*, II, 278). The dialectic origin of these words is not clear.

7. *Mṛiga* (deer, II, 4, 12). As already mentioned *mṛiga* has a two-fold meaning, viz. wild beast (IV, 3, 51) and deer (II, 4, 12). Pāṇini mentions two species, e.g. *ṛiśya*, a white-footed antelope (IV, 2, 80), and *nyaṅku*, a gazelle (VII, 3, 53), both of which are found in the earlier literature (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 115, 463). The female deer is mentioned as *eṇī* (IV, 3, 159). Patañjali refers to *rohit* as the female of *ṛiśya* (I, 2, 68; *Bhāṣhya*, I, 248).

Amongst the Carnivora order (*kravyād*, III, 2, 69) are mentioned *simha* (lion, VI, 2, 72), *vyāghra* (tiger, II, 1, 56), *vṛika* (wolf, V, 4, 41), *kroṣṭu* (jackal, III, 1, 95), *biḍāla* (cat, VI, 2, 72), *śvā* (dog, IV, 4, 11), and a domestic dog being called *kauleyaka* (IV, 2, 96).

Birds (*śakuni*, II, 4, 12; *pakṣin*, IV, 4, 35; *tiryach*, III, 4, 60). Individual names are *chatakā* (sparrow, IV, 1, 128), *mayūra* (peacock, II, 1, 72; also *kalāpin*, IV, 3, 48), *kukkūṭa* (cock, IV, 4, 46), *dḥvāṅksha* (crow, II, 1, 42), and *śyena* (hawk, VI, 3, 71). *Suka* (parrot) is included by Patañjali in the *Khaṇḍikādi gana* (IV, 2, 45). Pāṇini refers to the *viṣkīra* or pecking class of birds (VI, 1, 150), amongst which Charaka counts the peacock and the cock (*Sūtrasthāna*, XXVII, 46).

Kṣhūdrajantu (II, 4, 8), smaller animals up to the size of a mungoose according to Patañjali; these were *nakula* (mungoose, VI, 3, 75), *godhā* (big lizard, IV, 1, 129-130), *ahi* (snake, IV, 3, 56), *kṣhūdrā*, *bhramara*, *vaṭara* (kinds of bees, IV, 3, 119), and *vaṭi* (an ant, V, 2, 139).

Amongst water animals mention is made of *nakra* (alligator, VI, 3, 75), *varṣābhū* (frog, VI, 4, 84), and *matsya* (fish, IV, 4, 35) and species of fish called *vaisārīṇa* (V, 4, 16).

FEEDING AND STOCK

A drove of cattle was called *samaja*, and drive to the pasture *udaja* (III, 3, 69). In an interesting *sūtra* (I, 2, 73) Pāṇini teaches the method of designating herds of domestic cattle; e.g. cows and bulls grazing together would be called *gāvaḥ* (*gāvaḥ balīvardāḥ saṅghībhūtāḥ*); similarly *mahiśyah* (buffaloes) and *ajāḥ* (he-goats and she-goats), in each case the female form of the word represented both sexes. But when heads of calves and heifers were mingled in the herd it was denoted by the masculine form *vatsāḥ*. The idiom to which Pāṇini refers has continued to our own times in such words as गाय and बछड़े to denote names of herds of domestic cattle at the time of pasturage.

Certain terms expressive of the age of animals were familiar and significant to traders making sales and purchases in cattle. Pāṇini tells us that the age of an animal was expressed in terms of the number of its teeth (V, 4, 141), and growth of horns (VI, 2, 115), and hump (V, 4, 146). The countryside had its pasture lands for cattle called *gochara* (III, 3, 119) and pastoral herds kept on shifting from one tract to another according to the availability of fodder. The place which had once been used as ranch area and then abandoned was called *goshthina* (V, 2, 18) and a forest tract where cattle had grazed was called *āśitamgavina* (V, 4, 7). Straw (*busa* and *kadamkara*) was the normal fodder for agricultural livestock which were called *kadamkariya* (V, 1, 69), corresponding to Hindi *daṅgar*. Watering place to which cattle were driven to drink water is mentioned as *nipāna* and *āhāva* (III, 3, 74); it was probably attached to a well. Salt was also given to cattle as is stated by Kāṭilya. Pāṇini refers to animal's craving for salt as *lavaṇasyati* (VII, 1, 51).

Cow and bull (*dhenv-anuḍuha*, V, 4, 77). The cow is the mainstay of the agricultural life and cattle wealth of the community. Man's indebtedness to this most useful animal cannot be over-estimated. Prosperity in cows and calves was an auspicious wish invoked for the purposes of blessing, as *Svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya*, 'May there be good luck to you with cows and calves' (VI, 3, 83). Different words for denoting a cow-pen or cow-stall where cows were stationed are mentioned as *gośāla* (IV, 3, 35), *goshthā* (VIII, 3, 97), and *vraja* (III, 3, 119). *Goshpada* was a place where cows roamed freely (VI, 1, 145, *gobhir-sevito deśaḥ*, *Kāśikā*). Dense forests where even cows could not penetrate were *agoshpada* (VI, 1, 145). It is thought that the word *gotra* originally denoted a common shed where cows of several families took shelter (A. C. Das, *Rigvedic Culture*, p. 121). The new Pāṇinian word *gotrā*, signifying an assemblage of cows (IV, 2, 51), recalls that old association. Two new synonyms of *gotrā*, viz. *gavyā* (IV, 2, 50) and *ādhenava* (IV, 2, 47), had also come into use.

The herds were assigned to the regular care of a *gopāla*, and other officers called *tantipāla* (VI, 2, 78) who held complete charge of royal cattle. A cowherd's son attended on cows from his very boyhood and when he had attained the age fit for accompanying the cows to the jungle he was called *anugavina* (V, 2, 15), a term of as much importance in a cowherd's family as *kavacha-hara* was to the Kshattriya.

LIFE-STORY OF A COW

The different stages in the life-cycle of a cow were minutely observed. When the heifer first attained puberty, she was termed *upasaryā* (*kālyā prajane*, III, 1, 104) and her first mating *upasara*

(III, 3, 71). If she miscarried she was called *vehat* (II, 1, 65). Approaching her delivery time she became *adyaśvīnā* (V, 2, 13) corresponding to Vedic *pravayyā* (VI, 1, 83); after calving she was called *grishṭi* (II, 1, 65). Pāṇini also refers to *mahāgrishṭi* (VI, 2, 38), which most probably signified the cow whose milking period continued up to her next calving. *Dhenu* was a cow in milk (II, 1, 65), also called *astikshīrā* by Kātyāyana (II, 2, 24, 21); when six months had elapsed after calving she was called *bashkayaṇī* (II, 1, 65), from which we have the Hindi word *bakhainī*. A cow calving every year was reputed to be as *samām-samīnā* (V, 2, 12), an epithet which must have helped to increase its price. Patañjali speaks of an excellent cow (*gotarā*) which not only calves every year but gives birth to a heifer (*gotareyaṁ yā samām samām vijāyate, strīvatsā cha*, II, 413). In a debt transaction sometimes a cow was pledged to the creditor stipulating to discharge the debt from her milk, the cow being called *dhenushyā* (IV, 4, 89).

BULL

The name of a very young calf was *śakṛitkari* (III, 2, 24) corresponding to Vedic *atrīṇāda* (*Br. Up.*, I, 5, 2). In the next stage it was called *vatsa*, a group being called *vātsaka* (IV, 2, 39), for whom separate stables were maintained (*vatsaśālā*, IV, 3, 36). A calf two years old was *dityavāh* (VII, 3, 1; *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 359). A calf of well-developed size and therefore chosen to grow as a stud bull was called *ārshabhya* (i.e. good for becoming a bull, V, 1, 14). Probably he was marked out from the rest as *jātoksha* (V, 4, 77) and was not castrated. Even now the peasants pay special attention to calves whom they want to grow into stud bulls. A young bull was called *ukshā*, and when fully matured *mahoksha* (V, 4, 77), and in its old age *vṛiddhoksha* (V, 4, 77) or *ukshatara* (V, 3, 91).

The corresponding terms for the draught bull were *vatsa*, *damya* and *balīvarda* (Pat. on I, 1, 1; I, 42). At the age of two and a half years the young bull gains his first pair of teeth, and is called *dvidan*, a term which according to Pāṇini was indicative of age (*Vayasī dantasya datṛi*,¹ V, 4, 141). At the age of three years when the

¹ Teething of young bulls and cows:

| Age | Number of teeth |
|------------|-----------------|
| 2-2½ years | 2 teeth. |
| 3 " | 4 " |
| 3½ " | 6 " |
| 4 " | 8 " |

The question of the number of teeth had its practical importance in judging the age of an animal at the time of sale and purchase. The prospective buyer examines the teeth to judge the age. The question is generally put by the buyer as to how many teeth a young bull has, and the answer is given by the seller that it has so many teeth, which conveys to the buyer an idea of the age of the animal. The

number of teeth becomes four, the growing calf is called *chaturdan* (*Kāśikā* on V, 4, 141), and the young bull is ready for taking the nose-string (*nātha-hari*, III, 2, 25), and for being broken (*damya*) and castrated.

The *nāthahari*¹ or adolescent bull corresponds to the heifer which has become *upasaryā* after attaining the age of three years. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a cow attaining full maturity when she is three years old (Virāṭa, 16, 6, Poona edition, *māheyī trihāyanī*).

The draught bulls were classified according to the nature of work assigned to them, e.g. *rathya* (IV, 4, 76), one drawing a chariot; *yugya* (IV, 4, 76), one drawing a yoke; *prāsaṅgya* (IV, 4, 76), one drawing the yoke used for breaking bulls; *dhurya* and *dhaureya* (IV, 4, 77), one used for drawing cart loads; *śākata* (IV, 4, 80), one for drawing a small cart; and *hālīka* or *sairika* (IV, 4, 81), one used for drawing the plough. An ox that could be yoked both on the right and left sides of the yoke was called *sarva-dhurīna* (IV, 4, 78) and one accustomed to be yoked only on one side of the cart was called *ekadhurīna*, the latter being inferior for sale purposes. In the current charioteer's language the *ekadhurīna* bull may be of two kinds, that which can be yoked on the right side only (*uparwālī*) and that which can be yoked on the left side only (*tarawālī*).

BREEDS

Pāṇini refers to the famous breed of bulls grown in the Sālva country and called *Sālvaka* (IV, 2, 136, *Goyavāgvoścha*). According to Pāṇini, Sālva was a large confederacy consisting of several member States, whose number according to the *Kāśikā* was six (IV, 1, 173). According to the *Mahābhāṣhya* Ajamīdha, Ajakranda and Budha were amongst them (IV, 1, 170; II, 269). According to the *Mahābhārata* Mṛttikāvati was a Sālva capital, which may be identified with Merta or Mairta in Marwar, about 30 miles south of Nāgaur. The region of Nāgaur is known all over North India for its famous breed of bulls. The *Kāśikā* gives Bhūliṅgas as a member of the Sālvas who may be the same as the Bolingai of Ptolemy living on the western slope of the Aravalli mountain (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, p. 163). In the *Gopatha* the Sālvas are

growth of the horns is likewise a sign of age as referred to by Pāṇini in VI, 2, 115, *Śṛṅgamavasthāyām cha*. The stages of maturity were also expressed in terms of the development of the hump, e.g. the terms *akakut*, *pūrnakakut* and *unnatakakut* (without hump, fully humped and high humped) denoted the three stages of infancy, youth and full maturity (V, 4, 146; cf. *Kāśikā*).

¹ Some Pāṇinian terms with their current Hindi forms are: *nāthahari* (= *naṭiyā*); *dhurya-dhaureya* (= *dhori*); *kaṇḍagariya* or *kaṇḍagarya* (= *daṅgar*); *hālīka* (= *harathi* in Bihar, *hariyā* in the U.P.); *upasaryā* (= *osar*); *dhenu* (= *dhen*); *bashkayanī* (= *bakhain*, *bākhari*); *vaśā* (= *bahila*).

coupled with the Matsyas. This would support the identification of the Sālva *janapada* with the vast territory stretching from Jodhpur to Alwar. The Sālva bulls of Pāṇini would thus refer to the superior breed of cattle reared in the jungle-covered tracts of Nāgaur in the Jodhpur State (Hunter, *Imp. Gazetteer*, X, 159). We are also indebted to Patañjali for the mention of the Vāhika breed of bulls (*Bhāshya*, I, 354) and to the *Kāśikā* for two other famous breeds, viz. the *Kachchha* breed, cited as a counter-example to Pāṇini, IV, 2, 134, and the bulls of the Rañku country (IV, 2, 100). The famous Kachcha breed is the same as that reared in the Kathiawar territory of which the bullocks are well-built powerful draught animals, while the cows are excellent milkers and supply most of Western India with milk cattle (Watts, *op. cit.*, V, 669). Watts also considers the Gujrat breed as 'decidedly the finest in North-West India'. The breed reared in the Rañku *janapada* was called *Rāṅkava* and *Rāṅkavāyana*.

BRANDING OF COWS (*Lakshana*)

Pāṇini deals with the practice of branding cows in the following two sūtras:—

- (1) *Karṇo varṇa-lakṣhaṇāt* (VI, 2, 112);
- (2) *Karṇelakṣhaṇasy-āviṣṭ-āṣṭa-pañcha-maṇi-bhinna-chhinna-chhidra-sruva-svastikasya* (VI, 3, 115).

The first rule states that *karṇa* standing as the second member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound takes acute on the first syllable when preceded by a word denoting colour or mark. According to the second sūtra a *lakṣhaṇa*-denoting word before *karṇa* becomes elongated except in the case of *viṣṭa*, *āṣṭa*, *pañcha*, *maṇi*, *bhinna*, *chhinna*, *chhidra*, *sruva* and *svastika*. *Lakṣhaṇa* denotes the mark branded on cattle to distinguish ownership (*yat paśūnām svāmiviśeṣa-sambandha-jñāpanārthaṁ dātrākārādi kriyate tad-īha lakṣhaṇam grihyate*, *Kāśikā*, VI, 3, 115).

The practice of branding cows goes back to the Vedic period. The *Atharvaveda* uses the word *lakṣma* and refers to the *mithuna* mark (VI, 141, 2-3; XII, 4, 6). The *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* (IV, 2, 9) also throws interesting light on this ancient cattle rite, to which reference is also found in the *Mānava Śrauta Sūtra* (IX, 5, 1-3), and in the newly published *Gonāmika Parisiṣṭa* attached to the *Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra* (Dr. Raghuvira, *Journal of Vedic Studies*, Jany., 1934, p. 16). The *Arthaśāstra* directs that the Superintendent of Cows shall 'register the branded marks, natural marks, colour and the spread of the horns of each of the cattle' as part of his duties termed *vrajaparyagra* (*Arth.*, Text, p. 129), which more or less corresponds to the functions of the *Ghoshayātrā* (King's Inspection Tour of the Cowpen) mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* comprising

a programme of detailed census of the royal cattle (*smāraṇa*, *Vanaparva*, 239, 4) by marking and branding (*aṅka*, *lakṣha*, *Vanaparva*, 240, 4). The Edicts of Aśoka lay down a prohibition against branding of horses and bullocks on certain specified days (Pillar Edict, V).¹

According to Patañjali the distinguishing mark (*liṅga*) was branded either on the ear or the rump of the cow (*goḥ sakthani karne vā kritam liṅgam*, I, 289). He also calls the mark an *aṅka* (*aṅkitā gāva ityuchyate nyebhyo gobhyaḥ prakāśyante*, III, 408; VIII, 2, 48).

MARKS

Pāṇini mentions the names of nine branding marks (VI, 3, 115), and his list can be supplemented from the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, *Ṛiktantra*² and *Kāśikā* which add a few more names obviously derived from older tradition. The meaning of *viṣṭa-karnī* of Pāṇini is uncertain (cf. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 46, leaving it unexplained), but the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* ascribes this mark to the cows of Agastya, those of Jamadagni having a lute and of Vasishṭha a stake. The *asṭa-karnī* of Pāṇini occurs in the *Rigveda* (X, 62, 7) where Grassmann's obvious rendering is 'having the sign for (the number) 8 marked on the ear' (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, 46). Dr. Goldstücker affirms that the mention by Pāṇini of numerals 8 and 5 used as branding mark for cows offers a strong proof of his acquaintance with some form of writing (*Pāṇini, His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 44).

The names of marks (*lakṣhaṇa*) have a practical significance in the study of Indian numismatics, as some of them can be identified amongst symbols stamped on punch-marked coins, e.g. *sruva* (☐), *svastika* (卐), *aṅkuśa* (λ), *kuṇḍala* (O), *plīhā* (∞), *bāṇa* (↑), *mithuna* (☿☿).³ A table of ancient branding marks or symbols is appended below.

| Source | Name of Mark | Meaning |
|---------------------|------------------|--|
| Pāṇini (VI, 3, 115) | 1. Viṣṭa(-karnī) | Uncertain meaning; also in <i>Mait. Sam.</i> |
| | 2. Asṭa | Numeral 8 marked on the ear. |
| | 3. Pañcha | Numeral 5. |
| | 4. Maṇi | Jewel. |
| | 5. Bhinna | Cleft ears. |
| | 6. Chhinna | Clipped ears. |

¹ See also A.S.B. Memoir, *Animals in the Inscriptions of Piyadasi*, p. 373, referring to it as an old custom, described in the *sūtra* literature, *Pārashara*, iii, 10; *Sāṅkhāyana*, iii, 10; *Āśvalāyana Gr. Parīśiṣṭa*, iii, 18.

² *Karṇe plīh-āṅkuśa-kuṇḍal-opariṣṭ-ādhy-askhata-bāṇānām*, *Ṛiktantra sūtra*, 217.

³ Allan, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Index of Punch-marked Symbols, Index IV.

| Source | Name of Mark | Meaning |
|--|----------------|------------------------------------|
| | 7. Chhidra | Bored ears; also <i>Mait. Sam.</i> |
| | 8. Sruva | Ladle. |
| | 9. Svastika | Svastika. |
| <i>Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā</i> (IV, 2, 9). | 10. Sthūṇā | Stake. |
| | 11. Karkarī | Lute. |
| | 12. Puchhindyā | Uncertain. |
| | 13. Dātra | Sickle; also in <i>Kāśikā</i> . |
| <i>Atharvaveda</i> (VI, 141, 2) .. | 14. Mithuna | A human couple. |
| <i>Ṛikṭantra</i> (sūtra 217) .. | 15. Plihā | Spleen. |
| | 16. Āṅkuśa | Goad. |
| | 17. Kuṇḍala | Orb. |
| | 18. Uparishṭa | Twisted backwards. |
| | 19. Adhi | Ears twitched inside. |
| | 20. Akshata | Unhurt ears. |
| | 21. Bāṇa | Arrow. |
| <i>Kāśikā</i> (VI, 2, 112; VI, 3, 115). | 22. Śaṅku | Spike. |
| | 23. Dviguṇa | — |
| | 24. Trigūṇa | — |
| | 25. Dvyaṅgula | Two finger marks. |
| | 26. Āṅgula | Single finger mark. |

PARALOKASIDDHI

By G. N. ROERICH

The following pages contain a translation of the short treatise by the ācārya Dharmottara, entitled *Paralokasiddhi* ('jig-rten pha-rol grub-pa), contained in volume *Že* (foll. 246^b-249^b) of the sDe-dge edition of the bsTan-'gyur (No. 4251 of the Catalogue published by the Tōhoku Imperial University, Sendai, 1934). In it the author attempts to prove the continuity of the flow of consciousness and thus establish the existence of the World Beyond, a crucial problem which provoked heated debates between the Buddhist philosophic schools. The Sanskrit text of the original was translated into Tibetan by the Kashmirian paṇḍita Bhavyarāja and the well-known Tibetan lo-tsā-ba or translator Pa-tshab Ņi-ma grags (b. 1055 A.D.).

Salutation to Mañjuḥśakumāra !

'Some maintain that the World Beyond (*paraloka*, 'jig-rten pha-rol), which precedes birth and follows death, is a (state) characterized by the cessation of the continuum (*santāna*, *rgyun*) of consciousness (*vijñāna*, *rnam-śes*). This (statement) is not formulated properly, for they maintain that we can never conceive such a kind of consciousness which would be (materially) different from the gross elements (*mahābhūta*, 'byuñ-ba-chen-po) of the physical body (*kāya*, *lus*), and which would be devoid of nature which, could be perceived as being identical with them (i.e. the gross elements). If thought (*bsam-pa*) is not different from these (physical) bodies which are seen to possess a beginning and an end, how can then a continuum (of thought), the last momentary flash of which cannot be observed, have a lasting nature and flow without interruption? (Even) if (consciousness) were different (from the physical body), it may be argued that consciousness, having first originated from the four gross elements (of the physical body), is subsequently conditioned by the preceding moments of its continuum and lasts for a short duration only (i.e. during the span of physical life). (One may also argue) that the beginning (*mukha*, *sgo*), from which (the continuum) of consciousness had originated, must have always been consciousness. Similarly, (one may maintain) that the consciousness of a child had originated from that of the mother. (Thus) the existence of the World Beyond remains unproved.

To the above I (shall) reply as follows:

Well, the first statement that "consciousness is not different from the physical body which is a complex of the four gross elements",

formulated by you with the intention of rejecting (the existence) of the World Beyond, is not valid, because (the five kinds of) sensations (indriya-vijñāna, dbaṅ-po'i rnam-par śes-pa), the existence of which is admitted by you, cannot have resulted from different sensations, such as pleasure (sukha, bde-ba) or pain (duḥkha, bsdug-bsñal), and because they are unable to grasp the various external objects (bāhya, phyi-rol), such as form (rūpa, gzugs), etc., as being of a pleasant or unpleasant nature. Why? Because the very nature of the perceptual judgment (adhyavasāya, žen-pa) which is at the base (rten) of (every) experience (ñams-su myoñ-ba), and which cognizes external objects, can be established with the help of the memory left behind by past experiences. Hence we are able to establish (ñes-pa) that pleasant and painful sensations, produced (in us) while contemplating (material) forms, etc., are different from them. Because forms, etc., which were felt (by us) as pleasant or painful, are not intrinsically pleasant or painful. Thus the sensation of pleasure, etc., which is distinct from the object (contemplated), can be defined as being a subjective element (produced) by memory (śes-pa) which follows on (past) experiences. Therefore this experience must be subjective, and therefore, as consciousness differs from that which appears to it, such as form, etc., so also the subjective (sensation) is different from the physical body. Thus when sensations (śes-pa) originate from sense organs (indriya, dbaṅ-po), as for instance when looking at (their own) palms (lag-mthil) people realize that they do not perceive (their own) hands as being pleasant or unpleasant by nature. On the contrary (the palm is felt) to be (something) different from these (sensations of pleasure or pain).¹ Therefore, when an individual sees his hand, he can through experience prove (to himself) that the visual sensation (of his eyes), which had definitely perceived (his palm) as pleasant or unpleasant, was (something) different from the object contemplated (i.e. his hand). Therefore the wrong statement that the physical body was the mind (buddhi, blo), or that consciousness (sems-pa-čan) was a function of the (four gross) elements, can be rejected with the help of direct (sense) perception (pratyakṣa, mñon-sum), just as (the statement) that the intoxicating effect was a property of the wine. Again, some say that the first moment of a rising smoke must have originated from fire and that during subsequent moments it was produced from its own kind (i.e. from smoke), and that in a

¹ The author wrote this passage in order to prove that the subjective and objective were different. He being aware of the difficulty of proving the distinct nature of the subject and object, when the object belongs to another individual, or is an external object, quotes the example of an individual looking at his own hand, for in this case the individual can easily perceive their distinct nature, as both subject and object are in him, and because the very thing which might have been seen as pleasant to his eyes, might have in reality been painful.

similar manner a sensation (śes-pa) had first originated from the four gross elements, and that in subsequent moments (of the series) it continued to be produced from its own kind only. But this statement (also) cannot be accepted as valid, for (in that case) there would exist two kinds (rnam-pa) of effects (phala, 'bras-bu). The effects of the first kind must have first come into existence from the (primary) cause which had conditioned the continuum (santāna-hetu, rgyun-gyi rgyu, means here the cause which had conditioned the continuum, that is, the origin from which begins a series of its own kind. The continuum's primary cause must be of a different nature from that which is conditioned by it. The passage can also be translated: "some effects at first obtained their existence from an element distinct from them"). For a short duration their existence may depend on subsequent moments (in the continuum) of their own kind. For instance, smoke, etc. In the case of some causes, the effects last only for a moment and then the (effect) itself conditions the subsequent moments (of the series). Therefore, a particular cause can produce a (certain) effect which lasts for a short duration only (and which is not preceded by a momentary flash of its own kind). The second kind of effects are produced at every moment dependent on a complex (sāmagrī, tshogs) of their own kind. For instance, a lit lamp ('gron-me 'bar-ba), visual sensations, etc. In their case, the first moment (of a lit lamp) depends on fire and wick. (Visual sensation) depends on the eye, light (snañ-na) and mental action (yid-la byed-pa). The same (process) takes place during their subsequent moments. If any of the proximate causes were destroyed or underwent a change, the effects (of these causes) would also be either destroyed, or changed. Therefore, the lamp, visual sensation, etc., produced from a continuity of a complex of causes, depend at every moment on the presence, absence or change (of their primary causes), and are not produced from their own (preceding) continuum. Thus the substance of the effect, endowed with continuity, was at first produced from a different (substance), but during their subsequent moments they originate from elements of their own kind (but different from the primary cause). In the case of a momentary origination (of the effect), the cause which had conditioned the first moment (of the series of moments or continuum) produces also the subsequent moments. Therefore, if consciousness were at first produced from another (element), and later (i.e. in subsequent moments) from its (own) continuum, then one could suppose that at first it had been produced from the (four) gross elements (of the physical body), and later (i.e. in subsequent moments of the continuum) from consciousness. Then, how can these effects (such as lamp, visual sensation, etc.) be considered to be momentary flashes? As the five kinds of sensations were at first produced in dependence on a complex of causes, such as eye, etc., and as the

contact (*ñe-bar reg-pa*) with the complexes which had conditioned each moment of consciousness, lasts a single moment only, the five kinds of sensations are unable to condition their continuum. (Not only that, but) we are able to establish that constructive thought (*vikalpa, rnam-par rtog-pa*) also does not last, but is produced momentarily. Why? In the same manner as a seed (*vīja, sa-bon*), sprout (*añkuśa, myu-gu*), and fruit, belonging to one continuum, depend on their continuum, notwithstanding the difference (existing) between them, so also constructive thought conceiving a patch of blue (*sñon-po snañ-ba*), dependent on the conception of blue, sweet (*mñar-ba*), shape (*rūpa, gzugs*), etc., depends on its own cause, because it possesses a continuum different from others. When investigating the cause (of constructive thought), we fail to discover even the smallest cause of that constructive thought which followed on the perception of a patch of blue, as we had found in the case of smoke, the continuum of which was conditioned by fire. The differentiation of the nature of the effects is often due to the primary causes of the continuums, as for instance in the case of a jar (*bum-pa*), the material of which comes from clay, its shape is due to the potter and its other characteristics from other elements. Similar is the case of the continuum of constructive thought, the peculiarities of which are due to the different nature of the (primary) causes which had conditioned this continuum. We cannot say that constructive thought, which follows on the perception of a patch of blue, had originated from consciousness only, for otherwise we would have to infer that all complexes of consciousness arise simultaneously, because being conditioned by consciousness only, they would not differ from each other. If one were to say that the subsequent perception of a patch of blue had originated from (the preceding moment) of the perception of a patch of blue, then consciousness, which was characterized by the (perception) of a patch of blue, etc., cannot be considered to have been the material cause (*rgyu dños-po*) of (a subsequent moment of the perception of a patch of blue). Because when we took it to be the material cause (of the subsequent moments of the perception of a patch of blue), we established the uncertainty (of the existence of a link between the perception of a patch of blue and the subsequent moments of perception). For instance, the state of mind which was characterized by a perception of blue and which had originated from a certain perception (ex. the perception of a patch of blue), was seen on another occasion to have originated from consciousness which was linked to another (moment) of perception. But in the case of primary causes of a continuum, we shall not discover the uncertainty (of the existence of a link between cause and effect). Because different kinds of effects, conditioned by various causes, are at the base of empirical experience (*vyavahāra, tha-sñad*). Therefore, the different kinds (of effects) which are

differentiated in spite of the absence of different causes, or which are undifferentiated in spite of the presence of different causes, will be outside causation. Those (effects) which are not endowed with a different nature, conditioned by homogeneous and distinct (causes), are not linked to (their) causes. We have thus reached the absurd conclusion that outside (things) are causeless (rgyu-med-pa-čan). If so, we are compelled to accept that all things are either permanently existent, or non-existent. But (such a conclusion) was arrived at through sense-perception (pratyakṣa, mñon-sum) and therefore the homogeneity and diversity of effects were conditioned by the homogeneity and diversity of causes. If so, sensations of different perceptions must have had different causes, but the established cause (ñes-pa'i rgyu) (of the perception of a patch of blue) was not observed (by us). Therefore (the preceding moment of the perception of a patch of blue) cannot be considered to be the cause (of the subsequent moments of the perception of a patch of blue). If we were to accept (the view) that consciousness had originated from a matured former impression (vāsanā, bag-čhags) to become the cause (of the perception of a patch of blue), then in that case it must have been the momentary cause of the effect, because the essence of the force, the existence of which was proved while the effect was still unmanifested, is a matured former impression. Regarding this force we had established it to be the immediate cause preceding the perception of a patch of blue in the first moment (mtshuñs-pa de-ma-thag-pa'i rkyen, consciousness which immediately precedes a subsequent moment of consciousness), we shall thus be able to understand the preceding moments of the perception of a patch of blue (to be the cause) of the subsequent moments of constructive thought which was linked to the perception of blue. For example, in the first moment the perception of (something) blue arises from a former impression (vāsanā) which is of the nature of a force generated by the experience of blue and precedes the effect. In the same manner, the subsequent moments (of the flow) of constructive thought, which are identical in the manner of (their) grasping of the object (contemplated), had originated from a proximate impression. Therefore (the flow) of constructive thought, which is conditioned at every moment by a matured (former) impression, arises momentarily and preserves its continuity in the manner of a lamp, visual sensation, etc. One could never prove that the mental (flow) which was conditioned by the force of former experiences could arise in subsequent moments without awakening (former) impressions (vāsanā) of (those former experiences) and that consciousness, the appearance of which was only possible on the awakening of the force of former experiences, was conditioned by that force (nus-pa). Therefore constructive thoughts, which depend on the causes which were produced by the force generated by a

momentary perception, can be stated to last for a few moments only, and those which were independent of their continuum can be stated to represent momentary effects, as in the case of a lamp. Constructive thoughts are also independent of their primary causes (rgyun-gyi rgyu, santāna-hetu). Effects, which had originated from certain causes, cannot have been produced from causes other than those (causes). For example, a sa-lu (śāla, *Vatica robusta*) sprout produced from a sa-lu seed cannot have been produced from another (kind of seed). In the same manner, consciousness conditioned by (the preceding moments) of consciousness and characterized by the maturing of former impressions (vāsanā) cannot be produced from another (the four gross elements). In general, (it can be stated) that the effects which were produced from certain causes were governed by the law of causation (rgyu-daṅ-ldan-pa), and those which were conditioned by other causes, different from those observed, cannot be governed by the law of causation. (Thus) not being subject to the law of causation, they cannot originate from certain causes. Therefore the thing which was not present in the contrary case must have possessed a cause. The above reasoning amounts to admitting an incompatible concomitance. The statement that consciousness is preceded by consciousness, as in the case of the child's consciousness being produced from the consciousness of the mother, is not valid. Because the manifestation of wisdom (ses-rab) is conditioned by either the presence or the absence of preceding (moments) of consciousness. Thus we cannot maintain the existence of any cause other than consciousness (sems-pa). As in the case of two brothers born of one mother, both physically sound, but one more intelligent than the other. (Otherwise) they should have been endowed with the mental faculties (abhyāsa) of their mother (in an equal degree). Therefore, the mother's consciousness was not the cause which made them different, and therefore we can prove that in these two individuals exist different degrees (abhyāsa) of consciousness which were endowed with the faculty of developing intelligence, and therefore the causes (of their degree of intelligence) must have been different. Also because the consciousness of living beings (srog-čhags) belonging to the class of beings said to have been born of moisture and heat, etc., is not conditioned by the consciousness of a mother. Therefore, they possess their own continuum of consciousness.

The end of the Paralokasiddhi (ġig-rten pha-rol grub-pa) composed by the ācārya Dharmottara, and translated by the great Kashmirian paṇḍita Bhavyarāja (sKal-ldan rgyal-po) and the Tibetan translator Pa-tshab Ņi-ma grags in the vihāra of Ratna-raśmi in the great city of Anupama (dPe-med) in the reign of the Kashmirian king Śrī Haṛṣadeva (1089-1101 A.D.).

THE WORD *NAVAKARMIA* IN THE KANISHKA CASKET INSCRIPTION

By S. PARNAVITANA

In the course of the excavations carried out by Dr. Spooner in 1909 at the mound known as Shāh-jī-kī Dheri outside the Ganj gate of Peshawar, was discovered a relic-casket of copper bearing a Kharoshthi inscription which definitely establishes the identity of the mound with the famous *stūpa* of Kanishka described by Chinese pilgrims.¹

The inscription, first read and published by Dr. Spooner, has been subsequently dealt with by Sir John Marshall² and is included as No. LXXII in Prof. Sten Konow's *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*. It is dated in the first year of Kanishka and states that the casket on which it is inscribed was a gift (*dēya-dharma*) for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers in Mahāsena's *saṅghārāma* of the *vihāra* of Kanishka. Whether the donor was Kanishka himself is not clear, for the first line of the record is fragmentary. In the third line, however, occurs the name 'Agisala' to which has been added the epithet of *navakarmia*.³

This last word is interpreted by Dr. Spooner as 'overseer of works' and by Prof. Sten Konow as 'architect'. Both these interpretations are in accord with the meaning attached to Pali *navakammika* where it occurs in Buddhist canonical texts, and to the corresponding Prakrit forms occurring in early Buddhist inscriptions. For instance, the long inscription in the second apsidal temple at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa informs us that the work of building it was carried out under the guidance of three superintendents of works (*navakamikehi*), namely, the *thera* Chāmdamukha, the *thera* Dhammanandi and the *thera* Nāga.⁴ Prof. Vogel, who has edited these inscriptions, has given references to the relevant passages in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, in which the functions of *navakammikas* in a Buddhist monastic organization are referred to.⁵

In spite of the very good authority on which Dr. Spooner's and Prof. Sten Konow's interpretation of *navakarmia* is based, there are cogent reasons to question whether Agisala who had his name engraved on the Kanishka Casket was really an architect. It may very well be questioned why the architect who supervised the work of Kanishka's *stūpa* considered the relic-casket to be the appropriate

¹ ASIAR. for 1908-09, pp. 38-59.

² Dr. Spooner's reading is *nava-karmi*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ JRAS. for 1909, pp. 1056ff.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 23.

place to have his name recorded. There would certainly have been more appropriate parts of the monument on which the architect's name could have been engraved, if his royal patron was disposed to accord him that honour. M. Foucher's supposition¹ that Agisala had been paid for a gold casket and substituted a gilded one of bronze and Prof. Sten Konow's inference therefrom that this may have been the reason for his attempting to acquire merit by having his name associated with the gift, are not, I believe, meant to be taken seriously. One does not, according to Buddhist ideas, gain merit by having one's name engraved on a religious monument or a relic-casket. The merit is gained by getting rid of the attachment to a part, or the whole of one's belongings by giving it to a worthy recipient. The inscription on the casket itself, being not destined for public exhibition, must have been meant to be scrutinized by eyes other than human—of those beings who take reckoning of the good and evil deeds of men. If Agisala was an architect who did not consider dishonesty to be unprofessional, there was reason for him to keep his name out of the inscription rather than to have it included therein.

It can, of course, be argued that the ancients might not have reasoned on the same lines as we do now and that there may have been considerations not known to us why it was not inappropriate for the architect to have his name recorded on the handiwork of someone else rather than on his own. Even granting this, it is reasonable to assume that if the name of an artisan is found in a donatory inscription engraved on an object made of copper, the greater likelihood is for the artisan so honoured to be a worker in metal rather than one belonging to another trade or profession, unless the interpretation of the word used in the text to denote the class of artisan definitely excludes the former. In other words, it is more reasonable to assume that it is the name of the copper-smith who fashioned the relic-casket that is honoured by being included in the epigraph and not that of the architect who designed the *stūpa* in which the relic-casket was enshrined. In support of such a contention, it can also be stated that evidence is available in Sinhalese to prove that in one Indo-Aryan dialect at least, the word *nava-kammika* meant not only 'an architect', 'superintendent of works', etc., but also an 'artificer who worked in metal'. This evidence will be reviewed in brief in the following paragraphs.

In the Sinhalese social organization that is now breaking down at the impact of Western civilization, those communities which practised the trades of working in metal—the goldsmiths, the silver-smiths, etc.—were known by the generic name of *navan-danno* or *navan-danna-minissu*. In these terms, *danno* means 'those who

¹ *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Tome II, p. 542.

know' or 'those who are proficient in' and *danna-minissu* 'men who know' or 'men who are proficient in'. As the terms are applied to workers in metal, *navan*, the subject of their proficiency, must have some such connotation as 'working in metal'. Etymologically, however, *navan* (i.e. *navam*, the final *m* being changed to *n* due to the *d* in the first syllable of the word with which it is euphonically combined) can be traced back to P. *navakamma* by means of well-known phonetic laws operating in Sinhalese and through the intermediate stages of *nava-kama*, *navāma* and *navām*.

In Sinhalese literary works, too, there is found a word equivalent phonetically to P. *navakammika*, which has the connotation of 'worker in metal' or 'artificer'. In the *Saddharmmālaṅkāra* (SL) which dates from the fourteenth century and deals for the most part with the same material as the Pali *Rasavāhinī* (RV), the Sinhalese *nāvāmi* is the equivalent in meaning of P. *kammāra* (Skt. *karmāra*). In the story of Prince Sāli, for instance, the phrase *Tissa nam vū nāvāmiyek* of the SL¹ stands for *Tisso nām'eko kammāro* of the RV². Similarly, *kammāra-dhītā* of RV³ is *nāvāmiyā-gē dū* in the SL⁴. In both these instances, the Sinhalese *nāvāmi* has the same meaning as P. *kammāra*, which word, we know, connotes an 'artificer' or 'a worker in metal'. *Nāvāmi* is etymologically to be traced back to *nava-kammika* (*navakammika* > *navakamika* > **navaamia* > **navaamii* > **navāmī* > *nāvāmi*), the phonetical processes by which the form of earlier date has assumed its later garb, being the dropping of the intervocalic *k*, vowel-assimilation, the coalescing of the two homogeneous vowels thus brought together, the modification of *a* to *ā* due to the influence of the *i* in the subsequent syllable (the so-called umlaut of Geiger) and the dropping of one of the double consonants. These are processes exemplified by hundreds of words in the Sinhalese language. The literary word for barber in Sinhalese is *kara-nāvāmi*. Here the word *kara* (Skt. *kṣura*) 'razor' has been added to the generic term *nāvāmi*.

Navan or *navam*, in the compound *navan-danno*, and *nāvāmi* are not recent introductions into the Sinhalese language. They exhibit, as shown above, the characteristic phonetic changes through which Middle Indian forms assume their mediaeval and modern Sinhalese garb. These words, evidently, belong to the heritage with which the Sinhalese language started on its career in Ceylon, for a word denoting 'blacksmith', 'silversmith', etc., must have been essential in everyday speech. The prototypes of *nāvāmi* and *navan* must therefore have been current in that Middle Indian dialect which the immigrants from North India brought to Ceylon some

¹ Colombo Edition of 1934, p. 536.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

² Colombo Edition of 1899, p. 114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

five centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. In other words, *navakammika* or its variant meant 'artificer' or 'worker in metal' in that dialect.

If this word had such a connotation in a North Indian dialect transplanted in Ceylon, it might have had the same meaning in other dialects which were spoken in North India. The etymology of *nava-karmika* has nothing to restrict its application to an architect. Literally, the compound means 'he who is engaged in new works' and a metal worker is as much engaged in new works as is an architect. It is therefore quite possible that, while the compound was specialized in its use to mean 'architect' in certain dialects, it assumed the meaning of 'artificer' in others. It is also not impossible that the word meant 'architect' as well as 'artificer' in one and the same dialect.

Forms slightly differing from *navakarmia* in the Kanishka Casket Inscription are found in other Kharoshthi documents. *Nava-kamika* occurs in the Taxila Copperplate of Patika,¹ *navakarmigena* in the Mānikialā Inscription² and *nava-karmiena* in the Hidda Inscription³. We do not know the exact position in which the Taxila copper-plate was discovered; from the document itself one cannot be quite certain whether the *navakammika* Rohiṇimitra mentioned therein was an architect or an artificer. It is not impossible that he was the artificer who engraved the copperplate. The Mānikialā record was incised on the lower side of a stone slab which covered the relic-chamber of a *stūpa* and in the chamber were found a copper urn, a silver urn and a gold urn. The inscription records the depositing of relics in the *stūpa* and the *nava-karmiga* honoured by being mentioned in the document could possibly have been the artificer who fashioned the metal urns in which the relics were deposited, rather than the architect of the *stūpa*. The Hidda Inscription was 'written with a pen' on a jar. The jar itself is missing and no record is available of the material it was made of. Saṅghamitra, the *navakarmika* figuring in a record of that nature, might well have been an artificer. We may surmise that the *navakarmikas* (artificers) had to execute the work of fashioning the casket or the metal plate free of cost, as the case may be, for the honour of being mentioned by name in the inscription.

If, for the reasons given above, we interpret *navakarmia* of the Kanishka Casket Inscription to mean 'artificer' or 'coppersmith', it may not be without a bearing on the name Agisala by which the *navakarmika* has been referred to. Sir John Marshall, Dr. Spooner, M. Foucher, Prof. Sten Konow and other distinguished scholars had no doubt that *Agisala* is the same as the Greek 'Agesilaos'. Recently,

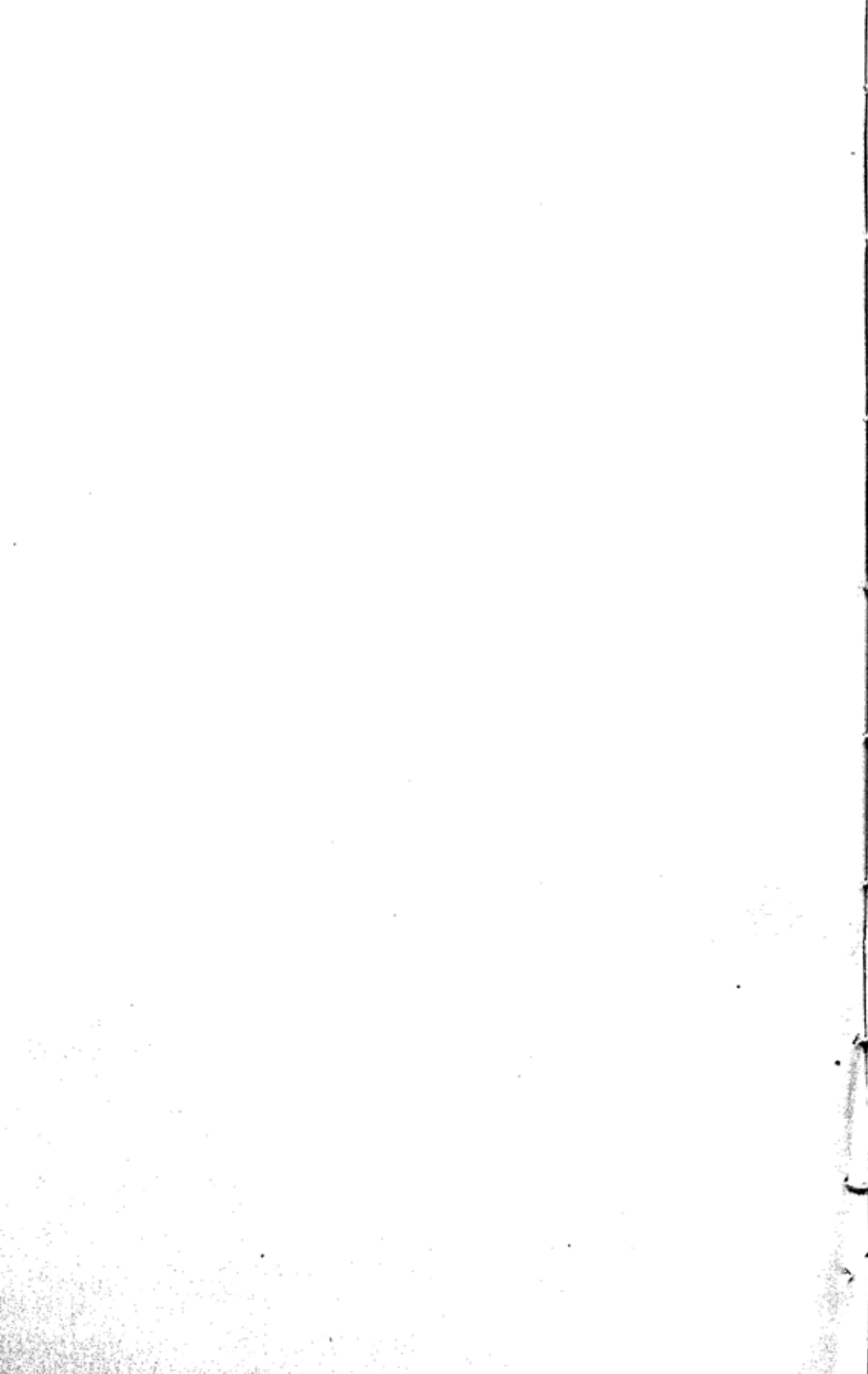
¹ Sten Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, No. XIII.

² *Ibid.*, No. LXXXVI.

³ *Ibid.*, No. LXXXII.

however, Prof. T. Burrow, in an article contributed to the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 13-16, has given very good reasons for not accepting the equation of 'Agisala' with 'Agesilaos'. He equates *agi-sala* with Skt. *agni-śālā*, P. *aggisāla*, and does not see a proper name therein. He takes the word to mean 'the heated hall or refectory' of a Buddhist monastery. He also interprets that part of the record in which *Agisala* occurs as a reference to the re-building of the *agniśālā* in the *vihāra* of Kanishka. This interpretation, however, appears to be not possible from the context; it is also inexplicable why the re-building of an *agniśālā* is referred to in an inscription on a relic-casket.

If *nava-karmia* means 'worker in metal' or 'artificer', 'Agi-sala' might well be a proper name, though not of Greek origin. Metal workers have very much to do with fire (*agni*) and it may not be surprising to find the word meaning 'fire' as the first member of the compound forming the name borne by one who pursued that trade. *Sala* need not necessarily mean *śālā*, 'hall'.



REVIEWS

MADANARATNAPRADĪPA (VYAVAHĀRAVIVEKODDYOTA) edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., D.Lit., in the Ganga Oriental Series No. 6 and published by the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1948.

The text under review is an extensive digest on *Dharmaśāstra* compiled under the patronage of king Madanasimha. The present critical edition of this text is based on three slightly incomplete manuscripts: (1) a paper manuscript in the possession of the editor; (2) the manuscript belonging to the Anup Sanskrit Library; and (3) the manuscript belonging to the Kasmir Durbar. Madanasimha entrusted the task of compiling an extensive digest to four learned men, viz., Ratnākaramisra, Gopinātha, Viśvanātha and Gaṅgādhara. In one of the manuscripts, no mention is made of the name of the author. This work is considered as a great authority on *Dharmaśāstra*. Really the *Vyavahāramayūkha* relies upon this text as often as on the *Mitākṣarā*. It seems that this digest was composed between the fourteenth and the fifteenth century A.D.

This work consists of seven parts or *uddiyotas* on *samaya*, *ācāra*, *vyavahāra*, *prāyaścitta*, *dāna*, *śuddhi* and *śānti*. This digest is quoted or referred to by the *Vīramitrodaya* and the *Vyavahāramayūkha* in several places. It is placed on the same level with the *Mitākṣarā*, and Vijñāneśvara, the author of the *Mitākṣarā*, is held in high respect by the author of the *Madanaratnapradīpa*. It should be borne in mind that the author of the text under review had the occasion to differ from Vijñāneśvara and in some cases he went so far as to criticize him. The author was not only well acquainted with the *Dharmaśāstra* but also he was well posted in the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system and in grammar, especially Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. The learned editor has taken much pains to trace all the quotations from the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* system to their sources. The notes supplied by the editor are very valuable and helpful in understanding some difficult passages. They also indicate the various readings of several verses. The alphabetical list of quotations excluding those from the Vedas and Pāṇini's *Sūtras*, is very useful. The text has been critically edited with great care and caution. The names of authors and works mentioned in the text, excepting the Vedic texts, and the Bibliography greatly enhance its utility. It goes without saying that a student of Hindu law will be greatly benefited by reading this important digest. A serviceable index at the end is all that is wanting.

B. C. LAW.

BUDDHIST TEXTS AS RECOMMENDED BY AŚOKA with an English translation by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1948.

Aśoka's Bhābru Edict otherwise known as Bairāt No. 2 is historically important. Vairāt or Vairātanagara was the capital of the Matsya country which comprises the modern territory of Jaipur. It is so called because it was a capital of Virāṭa, king of the Matsyas. Hiuen Tsang speaks of it as Vairāṭa and Cunningham points out that this kingdom was 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit. Virāṭanagara is, according to the *Mahābhārata*, occasionally called Matsyanagara and also sometimes Matsasyanagara.¹ It was the royal seat of the Epic king Virāṭa, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas.

¹ *Mahābhārata*, IV, 13, 1; 14, 1.

It may have included the greater part of the present State of Jaipur. Its precise boundaries cannot be determined but they may be fixed approximately as extending on the north from Jhunjun to Kōt Kasim, 70 miles; on the west from Jhunjun to Ajmere 120 miles; on the south from Ajmere to the junction of the Banas and Chambal, 150 miles; and on the east from the junction to Kōt Kasim, 150 miles, or altogether 490 miles.¹ Bhandarkar is right in pointing out that the Bhābru Edict is discovered in the ruins of a hill monastery at Bairāt in the northern portion of the Jaipur State, Rajputana.² The Bhābru Edict is the only edict which is found inscribed on a *śilāphalaka* or stone slab. It conclusively proves the Buddhist faith of *Asoka* and it is the solitary record in which *Asoka* expressly recommended seven selections from a collection of Buddha's words, which was then known to him. The edict points out that all that is said by the Buddha, the gifted Master, is well said indeed. *Asoka* referred to the seven discourses on the law, thinking—'thus verily the good faith will be long enduring.' All these seven discourses on the law should be constantly heard and borne in mind by the *Bhikkhus* and *Bhikkhunīs* and the *Upāsakas* and *Upāsikās*. *Asoka* caused this to be recorded in order to make his intention known. It is certain that there was in *Asoka's* time a well-known and authoritative collection of Buddha's teachings called *Dhammapariyāyas*. But we are not certain whether that collection had any well-defined divisions justifying the application of such an appellation as *Tripitaka* or *Pañcānikāya*. *Asoka* adopted his own titles in most of the cases and followed a Prākṛit spelling of the names in preference to that of the language in which the collection within his access was prevalent. A presumption may be raised against Pāli being the language of the Pre-*Asokan* collection of Buddha's words on the ground of *Asoka's* use of spelling of the titles of the select passages. This presumption cannot prove any case against the earlier development of Pāli idiom. To expose the unsoundness of the presumption as a proof against the antiquity of Pāli, the following argument is sufficient. In the commentaries of the fifth century A.D., the *sūtras* of Pāṇini have been quoted not in Sanskrit but in Pāli. It may be presumed that the rules of Pāṇini were not formulated in Sanskrit before the time of Buddhaghosa and other Pāli commentators, which seems to be absurd and historically incorrect. As the case stands, *Asoka* was not bound by any rule either to adopt the titles of the *sūtras* as these are found in the extant Pāli Canon or to retain the Pāli spelling if it was then current. He was at liberty to translate or suggest titles in *Sakaniruttī*. The formal mode of addressing the *Samgha* and of making the members of the Order assured of *Asoka's* faith in the *Triad*, the expression of veneration for the words of Buddha, the statement of the purpose of the selections and the general wording of the Edict go to support a presumption in favour of the antiquity of Pāli than against it. A few interesting parallels from the Pāli Canon may be cited here to make the point clear:

(i) *Bhābrū*.—Priyadasi lājā Māgadhe samgham abhivādetūnam āhā apābādhatam ca phāsu-vihālatam cā.

Dīgha Nikāya, II, p. 72.—Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati, appābādham appātāṅkam lahuṭṭhānam balam phāsu-vihāram pucchatīti.³

(ii) *Bhābrū*.—e keci bhamte bhagavatā budhena bhāsīte sarve se subhāsīte vā. *Majjhima-Nikāya*, I, p. 219.—Sabbesaṃ vo Sāriputta subhāsitaṃ pariyāyena.

Sutta-Nipāta, *Subhāsitasutta*.—Catūhi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgatā vācā subhāsītā hoti na dubbhāsītā anavajjā ca ananuvajjā ca viññūnam.

Sutta-Nipāta Commentary, p. 396.—*Subhāsītā hotīti suttu bhāsītā, ten' assā atthāvahanatam dīpeti.*

¹ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 344-5.

² *Asoka*, 2nd Ed., p. 88.

³ Quoted by B. M. Barua, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915.

(iii) *Bhābrū*.—‘Hevaṃ sadhamme cila-ṭhitike hosatī ti...etāni bhaṃte dhamma-paliyāyāni icchāmi kiṃti bahuke bhikkhupāye cā bhikkhuniye cā abhikkhināṃ suneyu cā upadhālayeyū cā.

Majjhima-Nikāya, I, p. 129, *Kakacūpama Sutta*.—Imaṃ ca tumhe bhikkhave kakacūpamaṃ ovādaṃ abhikkhaṇaṃ manasikareyyātha, passatha no tumhe bhikkhave taṃ vacanapathaṃ anum vā thūlaṃ vā yaṃ tumhe nādhivāseyyāthātī.¹ No h’etaṃ bhante—Tasmātiha bhikkhave imaṃ kakacūpamaṃ ovādaṃ abhikkhaṇaṃ manasikarotha, taṃ vo bhavissati digharattaṃ hitāya sukhāyātī.

Asoka made use of the earlier nomenclature *Dhammapaliyāya* (*Dhammapariyāya*) which is often found in the *suttas* of the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*. The term *Dhammapariyāya* is, according to Buddhaghosa, a logical form of discourse on the law (*sabbadhammamūlapariyāyanti sabbesaṃ dhammānaṃ kāraṇadesanāṃ Papañcasūdanī*, p. 18). I brought all these points to the notice of the scholars in the pages of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Vol. XXII, No. 4) and the *Indian Culture* (Importance of the *Bhābrū* Edict—I.C., Vol. I, pp. 130–3), as early as 1932 and 1934. All these scriptural texts, giving the fundamentals of Buddhism, were recommended by Asoka to the *Samgha* for perusal and proper understanding.

MM. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri who has just brought out a popular volume, containing the Buddhist texts found in the *Bhābrū* Edict with their English translation, ought to have shown the importance of the Edict in his preface. In the preface to his book, he has given wrong references. In page xi verses should be 207–221 and not 206–220 of the *Munigāthā* in the *Sutta Nipāta*. In page xii he says that the texts collected here are mainly from the editions of the Pali Text Society and in the case of the *Vinaya* Text, Oldenberg’s edition has been utilized. Let me examine the texts collected here by Paṇḍit Sastri.

- In page 3: para. 1—he has omitted *Katame dve*;
para. 4—it should be *dukkhasamudayaṃ* in place of *dukkhasamudayo*;
- In page 4: para. 5—it should be *dukkhanirodhaṃ* in place of *dukkhanirodho*;
para. 7—line 4, after *cakkhuṃ udapādi* the author has omitted *ñāṇaṃ udapādi*;
para. 8—*dukkhasamudayaṃ* in place of *dukkhasamudayo*.
para. 9—*dukkhanirodhaṃ* in place of *dukkhanirodho*.
- In page 5: para. 12—after *akuppa me* the author has used the word *vimutti* only but it should be *cetovimutti*;
para. 13—*attamanā* should go along with *pañcavaggiyā*, and *abhinandanti*, in place of *abhinanduntī*, should be the correct form.
- II, para. 1—*samavayasatthesano* or *samavayasatthesano* or *sañcavayasatthesano* should occur in place of *samavasatthesano*.
Paras. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, etc.—why the author has used full stop and not the note of interrogation after *hoti*?
- In page 7: para. 2—*Adhipaññāya* should be *Adhipaññāye*.
- In page 9: para. 5—*pana* and not *pina*.
- In para 10: verse 8—*Ogahane* in place of *ogāhane*.
- In page 11: para. 14—*pāṇine* in place of *pāṇino*.
V.—After *manomoneyyaṃ* the author has omitted a sentence —*Katamañca bhikkhave kāyamoneyyaṃ*?
- In page 12: —*Kho* in place of *bho* and *socceyyāṃ* in place of *moneyyāṃ*.
VI.—In the beginning after *pubbe iccayasmā Sāriputto* should occur.
- In page 13: verse 9—*Sāriputtāti Bhagavā* omitted after *pāsi Upatisapasina* is also known as *Sāriputta sutta*, *Therapañha sutta* and *Sāriputtapanha sutta*.

¹ Credit goes to Mr. S. N. Mitra, M.A., for finding out this parallel from Pāli.

- In page 14: para. 5—*udakāvadhānam* should be *udakādhānam*.
 In page 15(top): para. 7—after *pacchimehi pi* the author has omitted *pādehi*.
ubbāḥavābhijāto is the correct form and not *ubbūḥ-
 hāvābhijāto*.
 para. 8—The author has followed the P.T.S. editions and there-
 fore he should use *kattabbam* and not *kātabbam*.
 In page 17: para. 13 } —*Ahorattānusikkhī* and not *Ahorattānusikkho*.
 para. 15 }
 In page 19: para. 16—He has used the right form *Ahorattānusikkhī*.

Pandit Sastri has translated the Pali texts into English. His translation is on the whole correct, although he has taken in some places the exact renderings made by previous translators without due acknowledgment (Vide *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. III, SBB., Vol. IV; and *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, SBB, Vol. V; *Book of the Gradual Sayings*, III (PTS), e.g., 'pole of a plough', 'put away', 'let go', 'illusion', 'like the slump of a palm-tree', 'non-existent and unable to grow, again in future', 'he attains to and abides in', 'attaining and realizing'). His English rendering of *Māra* is not comprehensive. I should invite readers' attention to my article on the *Buddhist Conception of Māra* published in the *Buddhist Studies* (Ed. B. C. Law), Ch. X, pp. 257ff. In his preface (xiii) Pandit Sastri has failed to give the exact reference to the *Samatapāsādikā*. The passage quoted in the footnote is taken from the *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 13. He ought to have given the accurate reference. The book is replete with innumerable printing mistakes, although it has been published by the well-equipped press of the University of Calcutta. Some of them may here be pointed out: *pañca upadādhakhandhā, saññu* (page 23, f.n. 1); *which open's* (p. 23); *Senert* (p. x); *refram* (p. 39).

Pandit Shastri has given the original text of the Edict of Aśoka but he has not given the different readings, e.g., *Māgadham* or *Māgadhe*; *abhivādanam* or *abhivādetunam*; *abhihetam* or *abhipetam*.

The book will be of some use to those desiring to have in one place Asokan texts with their English translation, which still require to be studied with great care and caution.

B. C. LAW.

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE (Prose, Poetry and Drama) by Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt.; pp. 1-511; University of Calcutta, 1947.

Here we have, for the first time perhaps, a History of Sanskrit Literature, with emphasis on Literature rather than on Sanskrit. As the author says, 'Sanskrit literature need no longer be looked upon as a literary curiosity, deserving merely a descriptive, erudite, apologetic or condescending treatment,' 'it ranks legitimately as one of the great literatures of the world, to the appreciation of which broader historical and literary standards should be applied.' Yet its greatness is not of the brilliant and short-lived classical Greek literature. Its greatness is rather of the unending and monotonous mediaeval Latin literature, with erotics substituted for theology. Its soul is anonymous, its language is Esperanto. It was born old and conventionalized, so that its cradle could serve as its coffin. How far apart it stands from the line of pure literary art directly connecting Aeschylus with Synge, it is for art-critics to judge, and in the book under review we have the verdict on this point of one of the few Indian scholars dealing with the subject whose vision is not limited to Sanskrit alone. It is this that makes the book indispensable to students of Sanskrit literature. With rare felicity Dr. De gives exposés of the principal works coming under review, but it is a pity that not a single long passage of any work has been given either in original or translation, so that to ordinary readers

like the present reviewer, familiar with only a part of the texts dealt with by the author, the treatment sometimes seems to lack realism. On *genres* of Sanskrit literature, his judgment is always incisive, though never without an effort to be lenient. Of individual authors, even the greatest Sanskrit poet gets no easy passage under his scrutiny: 'Kālidāsa would never regard his emotions as their own excuse for being, but would present them in the embalmed glamour of poetic realization, or in the brocaded garb of quintessenced rhetoric' (p. 153). It is curious indeed, as Dr. De points out, 'that the extreme and affected classicality of Sanskrit poetry and drama continued uninterrupted for a long stretch of centuries, and a true romantic reaction never set in' (p. 315).

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF APABHRAṂŚA by Ganesh Vasudev Tagare;
Deccan College Dissertation Series 5; pp. xvii+454; Poona, 1948.

Soon after Mehendale's monumental work, the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, under the able guidance of Dr. S. M. Katre, has sprung on the public another surprise, though this time not such a pleasant one, in the shape of Tagare's 'Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa.' It is undoubtedly a work of merit, and the author deserves thanks from the scholarly world interested in Indian linguistics, not least for the elaborate index of over a hundred pages in which the source of every Apabhraṁśa word dealt with in the work has been given. Our author is not without his idiosyncrasies. Twice in the space of his short introduction he fulminates against poor old Grierson because he 'proposed a hypothetical Apabhraṁśa as preceding each NIA dialect.' As if it is a crime to suggest that every son was preceded by a father! It may very well be that 'that assumption is unsupported by documentary evidence discovered so far' by Mr. Tagare. But the question is, is there anything to suggest that this assumption can be wrong? Pischel too fares no better in the hands of our author (see for instance page 104, f.n. 2).—Let us say at once that it is no good making a fetish of 'chrono-regional perspective', of which our author is evidently enamoured. Everybody who knows the alphabets of linguistics knows also that laws of languages, not being universal, act over definite areas during definite periods. It is preposterous to suggest that Pischel was ignorant of this. Our author's assumptions are therefore not correct. His mode of execution too is not happy. Method of treatment suitable for inscriptional dialects cannot be suitable for Apabhraṁśa languages whose dialectology is largely determined by manuscript-tradition. Can we grant full credence to the grammar of an Apabhraṁśa text of western origin preserved in an eastern script? I am not sure that more correct results would not have been achieved if the author, in dealing with the dialects, had paid more attention to the scripts of manuscripts, than to their region of origin. Mr. Tagare is not afraid of attributing Apabhraṁśa composition even to Kālidāsa. But do we know when Kālidāsa lived? There is no decisive argument yet against placing Kālidāsa in the pre-Christian era. How to judge of the Apabhraṁśa portion of the Vikramorvaśīya I do not know. But I recall an incident that may suggest a way of solving the problem. Once in Germany I attended the performance of a Shakespearean drama in a famous theatre. Shakespeare puts in the drama a lady of Celtic origin, ignorant of English, who therefore has to maintain a poignant silence on the stage. In the German adaptation, however, I was surprised to hear this lady break out into a wailing song, not in English or German, but in Celtic! But none—not even a renowned Professor of Celtic philology present there—could make anything of it.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

INDO-ARYAN LOAN-WORDS IN MALAYALAM by K. Godavarma, pp. ix +252; 1946. Published by Ramavarma & Bros., Mavelikara; printed in Trivandrum at the A.R.V. Press.

It is a doctoral dissertation presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of London in 1933, prepared under the guidance of Prof. Turner, whose words of warm approbation printed on the dust-cover, leave no doubt as to the value of this work. Of Sanskrit loans the author wisely takes into consideration particularly those words which are no longer felt to be alien. But all identified MIA and NIA words have been properly dealt with. The theme of the work is not such as would promise sensational results. But, all the same, the book deserves all the praise that is due to fruits of honest and useful labour.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

HINDU IDEAL OF LIFE by Batakrishna Ghosh, pp. viii+116; Bhāratī Mahāvidyālaya Publications, Social Science Series—No. 1, Calcutta, 1947; Published by Satis Chandra Seal, Honorary General Secretary, Bhāratī Mahāvidyālaya.

In six short chapters on the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, *Śrauta-sūtras*, *Dharmaśāstras*, *Arthaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra* the author has tried to present to the public, in a popular garb, the ideals embodied in the texts concerned. Not to idealize the ideals is one of the chief concerns of the author, and as a result his judgment is sometimes harsh, but not unjust. The chief merit of the work lies in the sustained effort on the part of the author to discover the principles that actuated the ancient Indian writers to lay down prescriptive laws, which in reality were for the most part descriptive, just as we find them in the texts, in spite of other possible alternatives. Vedic religion was magic-ridden in the author's opinion, but out of this magic-ridden religion gradually arose the conception of law, which again took refuge under the wings of religion and magic when the Hindus lost their political supremacy. Caste-system has done for India what Feudalism did for Europe. It provided every individual with a profession at a time when there was no political authority to enact and enforce laws. The book on the whole is very interesting and useful.

B. C. LAW.

1. **EARLY INDIAN CULTURE** (pp. 32, No. 1)
2. **ANCIENT INDIA (SIXTH CENTURY B.C.)** (pp. 36, No. 2)

Written by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.A.S.B. and published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, in its Popular Series.

These two brochures add two valuable links to the chain of the many publications with which Dr. Bimala Churn Law has enriched the literature on Ancient Indian History in all its aspects, geographical, political, social, economic and cultural. Both these works condense and compress within the limits of a very short compass a vast and varied amount of material derived from the latest researches which make them so completely up-to-date. The first work is made up of 9 sections dealing with the bare facts of Indian Culture of different periods, Prehistoric, Vedic, Brahmanic, Pre-Maurya, Maurya-Sunga, Scythian, Gupta, Later Mediaeval, and Andhra and Dravidian. They present a valuable summary of the essential facts and features of the period dealt with.

The second brochure on Ancient India of sixth century B.C. is predominantly a picture of Buddhist India on the basis of its sources in Pali literature supplemented by the evidence from Jain and Brahmanical sources. It is a most useful handbook

for the study of this unique period of Indian history associated with the two great religions of Jainism and Buddhism, which introduced to it several new factors by which Indian Culture was widened and made more National. The book is made up of five sections dealing with geographical background, which contains much new material not so known, kings and peoples, social and economic life, religion and culture (including education and learning).

These two works are Dr. Law's new essays in condensed writing, which has its own merits, not to be missed by readers, who are unable to undertake the study of specialized and extensive treatises on the subjects they present.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

PHILOSOPHY OF PROGRESS by the late Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.)
F.R.A.S.B., Tripiṭakācārya.

This treatise is a posthumous publication in an enlarged form of an article published in the *Calcutta Review* (1920) under the title 'Thoughts on Progress'. The author whom we now miss so much has fittingly dedicated it to the ever-inspiring memory of Mahatma Gandhi to whom the book in its earlier form was sent in 1933.

The book as it stands has been divided into several important sections, such as, Dean Inge's Ideal of Progress, Meaning of Progress, Tests of Progress, Condition of Progress and Modes of Progress. In these sections the author has given us his considered opinions as to the factors and forces, conducive to and subversive of human progress, material, intellectual, moral and religious. He has laid under contribution the teachings of the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Gītā*, the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures, the *Bible* and the *Quoran* and has shown in his own way their bearings on his conception of Progress. He is not at all dogmatic in his views and is not unwilling to give revolution a necessary importance as a step to progress and reformation and even rebellion in the social and political structure of mankind the due share of motive force they contribute. He admits conflicts of purposes in the older and rising generations of men in India, as in the whole world, but he never despairs of ultimate harmony and unity when human mind is forced to believe in a corporate scheme of existence brought about by outstanding personal geniuses like Buddha, Christ, Hazarath Mahammad or even Alexander the Great. He however suggests that even unity cannot be judged to be the only ultimate goal of progress, for unity serves to impoverish the wealth hidden in the variety of types of creation by depriving men of the right of personal initiative. To him even beatitude achieved by highly spiritual geniuses does not offer the highest form of progress, if such spiritual geniuses fancy that they stood away from the realities of life, that they are above law and are to dictate their terms to humanity.

What then does the author exactly mean by Progress? Progress, according to him, is an advance of mankind 'in the sense of increased and increasing preparedness and possibility for taking certain definite steps, other such steps, and after them other ones, sufficing, as devised each time, to suit their manifold needs and to diversify and enrich the products of thought and art, not contradicting in essence the tradition of the past and not expecting any more than the consciousness of a felt advance'. Progress, in short, according to the author, is a reconstruction of the human species on its mental and material sides and is never of the nature of an abrupt revolution breaking link with the past. He appears to take Progress as a fact of History brought about from time to time by individual geniuses whom Carlyle calls 'heroes', who are individual potent forces effecting advancement in different aspects of life by their 'directive' and 'corrective' influences on the history of mankind.

The concept of Progress, as it appears in the philosophical literature of today, seems to have acquired a far more comprehensiveness which it is not possible, within the limits of a short treatise like the one under review, to bring out in all its details. It is now rich in content and varied in implications. To do justice to the Philosophy of Progress one has to solve the questions: If progress is a fact, is it continuous or *per saltum*, is it cyclic or spiral? Is it guided by any purpose or without it? If it is guided by a purpose, what is the nature of such a purpose? Does Progress as guided by purpose imply any scale of values which are gradually realized in the progression? If individual geniuses are responsible for progress in so far as they exert 'directive' and 'corrective' influences over it, as the late learned doctor supposes, these individual heroes must contribute to a common end or purpose, even if appearing at different periods of human history. Now what else will this common end or purpose imply than the absolute values of Truth, Goodness and Beauty, which act as the drawing forces, pulling the entire existence including these outstanding individual geniuses with their 'directive' and 'corrective' influences towards the fulfilment of a common purpose. This will certainly amount to a teleological interpretation of the world-movement, but will nevertheless be different from the traditional teleology of Religious Idealism according to which the world is supposed to be pushed from behind. We may take up an outstanding individual in any particular sphere of life and a group of his followers who may have worked out or would work out his ideal in that particular sphere. That would at best be a particularistic view of Progress which is bound to be limited and has the chance of being out-balanced by retrogression in another sphere of life. All such problems have not received due consideration in this little book.

Dr. Barua in his Appendix A has tried to analyze my view of Progress as laid down in one of my books 'Studies in Philosophy' published in 1938. He has substantially accepted my view that Progress is due to the genius of outstanding individuals. In his section on the 'modes' of progress, he has laid down 'meeting' of individual thoughtful men as a necessary mode of progress for that ensures co-operation amongst them and correction of each other's views on the matter, apparently meaning by such 'meeting' Buddhist 'Sangha' as we may infer from his Buddhist predilections. He should have rather called it one of the conditions of progress.

Dr. Barua has taken exception to my use of 'impulse' as it, he thinks, is suggestive of irrationality or absence of reflectiveness. Such impulse in some cases has been 'constructive', where its results have been beneficial and in some cases 'destructive', when they have proved detrimental to the lasting interests of men.

Death has snatched away from our midst such a candid, bold and original thinker to deprive us of many of his matured thoughts on such an important problem of mankind as that of human progress. We are now in great need of more thinkers of Dr. Barua's calibre with such boldness and originality of conception. The book under review is undoubtedly a useful and thoughtful treatise, which will provide the reading public with immense intellectual food.

HARIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA.

THE CARIYĀPĪṬAKA, edited in Devanāgarī character with an Introduction in English by Bimala Churn Law, D.Litt., Ph.D., M.A., B.L., second and revised edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 7, Poona, 1949. 49 pp.

It is very agreeable to be able to welcome this good, annotated and well printed edition of the *Cariyāpīṭaka*, to which Dr. Law has contributed an interesting Introduction. This includes a brief résumé of each of the thirty-five birth-stories of which the *Cariyāpīṭaka* consists, for Dr. Law decided not to incorporate an English

translation in this volume, having already made one for the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists* although this work is now out of print. There is also a short discussion on the term *pāramitā* and the general way in which each one was fulfilled by the Bodhisatta. This term, here taken as 'perfection', 'completeness' or 'highest state', is thus translated by an abstraction as is usually the case. But another possible sense of this word, namely 'arrived at the Beyond', *pāram itā*, as suggested by Professor Bacot (*Le Bouddha*, Paris, 1947, p. 84), might profitably have been discussed. For then the 'main importance' of the term would lie not only 'in its bearing on the problem of evolution of personality' (p. 12) but the ultimate goal to which the evolving personality was aspiring would become more apparent. Dr. Law makes the suggestive statement, but without expanding it, that 'the *pāramitā* doctrine had its root in the age-old Indian conception of faith (*saddhā*) particularly as developed in a *sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*'.

Several interesting problems arise from a study of this Introduction. First, why is the *Cariyāpiṭaka*'s treatment of the *pāramitās* incomplete? Why does it illustrate only seven out of the ten 'perfections of conduct'? Dr. Law does not make it quite clear that this is, in fact, the case. He says 'the last three *pāramitās* are not noticed in the *Cariyāpiṭaka* which gives a brief account of how the Bodhisatta fulfilled each *pāramitā*' (p. 11), while he also says that 'the first two *pāramitās*, namely *dāna* and *sīla*, are illustrated by ten stories each and the last fourteen refer to the other eight perfections, namely renunciation, wisdom, energy, forbearance, truth, resolution, amity and equanimity' (p. 1). But I find *khanti* and *virīya* (forbearance and energy) mentioned only in the concluding verses of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, and *paññā*, wisdom, not at all. This work indeed contains no stories illustrating these three *pāramitās*. The question is: Why? Was the omission deliberate? Is the work incomplete intentionally or unintentionally? Has part been lost? Or was it never compiled? Richard Morris, fully alive to this state of affairs, writes in the Preface to his Pali Text Society edition: 'The *pāramitās* of *paññā*, *virīyam*, and *khanti* are entirely passed over unnoticed . . . To a certain extent *paññā*, *virīyam*, *khanti*, *adhiṭṭhānam*, and *upekkhā* are involved in the other *pāramitās*, and this may perhaps account for omission of the first three, and the slight treatment of the last two perfections.'

It is possible that hesitations concerning this work go back a long way. The *Majjhima-bhāṇakas* included it in their *Suttanta-piṭaka*, whereas the *Dīgha-bhāṇakas* did not do so (*Sumangalavilāsini*, I. 15), a discrepancy which I should have liked Dr. Law to discuss.

The *Cariyā-piṭaka* is of course, with its thirty-five birth-stories, not to be compared in length with the *Jātakas*. But Dr. Law cites Dr. Morris as pointing out that 'the *Jātakamālā* also contains thirty-five birth-stories, ten of which have the same titles as those of the *Cariyāpiṭaka* tales'. This opens up a suggestive line for some future research, which might well be combined with an investigation of the whole treatment of the *pāramitās*, not only in the Mahāyāna Buddhist texts which 'are full of information regarding their fulfilment', but in their more scattered occurrences in other Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts to which Dr. Law draws our attention. Perhaps we might then learn whether the *pāramitās* are arranged in the order in which they usually appear for any recondite reason according to which their fulfilment has to take place of necessity in this particular sequence, so that there can be no undertaking of the next perfection until the preceding one has been fulfilled; or we might learn whether they can be completed simultaneously; or whether there is no thought-out plan governing their order, in which case the order of mastering them would be of little consequence.

Dr. Law sets out very clearly the sources to which the stories can be traced, thus clarifying Morris' work, and adding the three sources which the latter admitted he had failed to find. The curious thing is, that while thirty-four stories derive from *Jātaka* tales, one alone, the *Mahāvoginda*, is listed as deriving from the *Dīghanikāya*.

One error in this Introduction should be corrected in any subsequent edition. The Bodhisatta was *not* 'born as Mahālomahamsa' (p. 11). This is not a personal name. The events of this 'hair-raising' time, recounted to illustrate the perfection of indifference or equanimity, took place, according to the *Lomahamsa Jātaka*, while the Bodhisatta was a Naked Ascetic (*Jātaka* I, p. 391). The *Jātakanidāna* (*Jātaka* I, p. 47), places the relevant verses in the *Dūrenidāna*. But according to the *Majjhima* (I. 79), part of whose prose description tallies verbally with the *Jātakanidāna*'s and the *Cariyāpiṭaka*'s verse, the events, so grisly that the *Mahāsīhanādasutta* could also be known as the *Lomahamsanapariyāya*, took place in the Bodhisatta's last life on earth before he gained full enlightenment.

There is no doubt that Dr. Law's suggestive and stimulating Introduction will promote further research into the whole field of the tremendously interesting subject of the *pāramitās* and the highly important topics to which they are related, and which here find sympathetic treatment.

I. B. HORNER.

SIR WILLIAM JONES : Bicentenary of his birth commemoration volume (1746-1946). Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1948, pp. 1-173.

The bicentenary of the birth of the late Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), was commemorated in 1946 when Dr. M. N. Shaha was the President of the Society. The major portion of the commemoration volume is devoted to messages received from important individuals and institutions of the world on the occasion. Besides there are some articles written by Drs. S. K. Chatterjee, B. S. Guha, R. C. Majumdar and Messrs. Paul Levy, Hamidullah, K. P. Chatterjee, P. Acharya, Desai, S. N. Ray, Priyaranjan Sen and R. K. Das Gupta. Dr. Chatterjee's note on Sir William Jones, though it seems to be dull and un-interesting in some places, is on the whole good. Dr. B. S. Guha's article is very interesting. Dr. Majumdar has tried to show Indian culture as a factor in world civilization. This subject needs a fuller and more systematic treatment than what the writer has here done. The coloured illustration of Sir William Jones in his boyhood, which forms the frontispiece and which has been reproduced from the original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is very attractive. The messages and other matters should have been published in the Society's Year Book for 1946, and the big amount already spent in bringing out this volume might have been saved for printing some good books worthy of this learned Society.

S. C. SEAL.

THE TIRUKKURAL OF TIRUVALĻUVAR transcribed in Roman character with English Translation by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., with a foreword by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar published by the Adyar Library, 1949, and included in the Adyar Library Series No. 67, pp. 271. Price Rs.3.

The Tirukkural, like the *Bhagavat Gītā* of the Hindus and the *Dhammapada* of the Buddhists, is well-respected by the lovers of Tamil. It consists of 3 parts the first dealing with *Aram*, the 2nd with *Poruḷ* and the last with *Kāma*. This Tamil classic which is dated the first or second century B.C. contains invaluable teachings like the *Gītā* and the *Dhammapada*. It treats of such topics as renunciation, *dharma*, wives, sons, loving-kindness, hospitality, sweet words, gratitude, equity, self-control, right conduct, politeness, envy, non-coveting, back-biting, evil deeds, decorum, liberality, compassion, penance, improper conduct, truth, absence of anger, non-killing, true knowledge, destruction of desire, destiny, learning, non-learning knowledge, association with elders, avoiding the company of the ignoble, tyranny,

kindliness, exertion, perseverance, courage, good speech, resoluteness, acquisition of wealth, true friendship, stupidity, ignorance, discord, enmity, non-taking of wine, medicine, greatness, courtesy, modesty, poverty, begging, meanness, reading of love's signs, ecstasy of love's union, secret love, wedded love, recollecting the pleasures of love, dreams of love, and loss of modesty. Some other minor topics are dealt with here. Prof. Dikshitar, who is a great Tamil scholar, has ably translated this book in a clear language. He has really made it most interesting and instructive. This book should be in the hands of every Indian and should be read and re-read like other precious gems of Indian literature.

B. C. LAW.

VAISĀLI-ABHINANDAN-GRANTHA (Homage to Vaiśālī). Edited by J. C. Mathur, I.C.S., and Yogendra Mishra, M.A., and published by the Vaiśālī Saṅgha. Price Rs.12 per copy. Pp. 1-194.

This volume prefaced by Dr. Rajendra Prasad contains some interesting articles written by Drs. B. C. Law, R. C. Majumdar, R. K. Mookerjee, S. C. Sarkar and others. It will be of some use to orientalists. Some of the articles are written for the general public. We believe the volume, as it stands, will be welcome by the Indologists as well as by the general reader.

S. K. MITRA.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF GUJARAT (Deccan College Monograph Series No. 3), by H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., published by the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1949, pp. 245.

In Lecture I the author has dealt with the nature of the subjects and sources in the form of small notes which seem to be scrappy. The Lecture II on Historical Geography is interesting. The Lectures III and IV treat of Cultural Geography and Historical and Cultural Ethnography. The most useful portion is the Appendix giving a list of place names from Caulukya inscriptions and their identifications. The book is on the whole a useful publication.

B. C. LAW.

SOME JAINA CANONICAL SŪTRAS—by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt., Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Monograph No. 2, 1949. Pages XV+213.

Dr. B. C. Law, well-known as the author and patron of many studies in Indology, has placed scholars once more under a deep debt of gratitude to him by producing this very well-documented and comprehensive account of the Jaina canon. The comparisons with the texts of the Buddhist canon which are scattered throughout the work greatly enhance the value of the study and raises many interesting questions not only of the relation between the two canons, but in the wider field of the development of Indian religious thought and literature. After a brief description of the extant Jaina canon in Chapter I, Dr. Law devotes the following twenty-four chapters to a critical account of the principal Jaina canonical texts in the light of his comparative study of both Buddhist and Jaina texts. There is an appendix on *Vividha-tārtha kalpa* of great value for ancient Indian Geography and another on the principles of Jainism chiefly based on the texts studied in the volume. As Dr. E. J. Thomas rightly observes in his brief Introduction to the book: 'the calmness and impartiality of Dr. Law's method will be a great aid to the clearness of treatment required in order to reach assured conclusions' on the whole subject of Jainism.

its history and relations with the rest of Indian religious thought and experience which is as yet but imperfectly comprehended. Jainism in fact shows a much greater development on the literary side than Buddhism, and as Bühler pointed out long ago the Jains did not stop with expounding their own religious doctrines, but devoted themselves actively to the secular services of the Brahmins and to the cultivation of many popular languages including Kannada, Tamil and Telugu. Dr. Law has earned the thanks of all Indologists by his striking contribution to the sacred literature of Jainism which has meant so much for the development of Indian culture.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

A MANUAL OF BUDDHISM, by Nārada Thera. Published by the Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd., Lake House, Colombo.

This short book which is intended for students, contains some important problems relating to Buddhism. It treats of Buddha's birth, enlightenment, preaching of Dharma, sending of missionaries, etc. The author has given a brief account of the Buddhist monks and nuns. His exposition of the four noble truths, *Nibbāna*, *Karma*, etc., is quite enough for the students for whom it is written. He ought to have given a clear account of the Buddha and the contemporary Indian kings and princes. His notes on Aśoka and his *Dharma* are very scrappy. The book, which is well printed and nicely got up, will be welcome by the students.

B. C. LAW.

BĀṄGĀLĀY BAUDDHADHARMA, by Nalininath Das Gupta. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. 268 pp. Price Rs.4-8-0.

Mr. Das Gupta has made an attempt for the first time in this book to give a connected and comparative account of Buddhism in Bengal in seven sections. He has given a very readable account of Buddhist images in the Pāla period and later. His section on Buddhist *viḥāras* in Bengal is interesting but in some places there are inaccuracies. He has tried to explain *Bodhicitta* and has dealt with *Mahāyāna*, *Vajrayāna*, *Tantrism* and such other cults which prevailed in Bengal. He has given a short history of the Buddhist sects. His account of Buddhism in the Asokan age as well as in the Gupta period and later deserves special mention. He has also traced the history of Buddhism in Bengal under the Pālas.

In the Introduction (p. 13) we are astounded to find his wrong statement that no systematic account of Buddhist philosophy is found in the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*. He has quoted Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pālī Proper Names* in this connection. If Mr. Das Gupta cares to read the following books of the *Abhidhammapiṭaka*: *Dhammasaṅgani*, *Vibhaṅga*, *Kathāvatthu*, *Puggalapaññatti*, *Yamaka* and *Paṭṭhāna*, he will have no other alternative than to amend his own statement. A rich store of Buddhist philosophy, psychology, metaphysics, and ethics, is found in all these *Abhidhamma* texts. Many intricate problems of Buddhist psychological ethics such as intellection, aggregate of sensation, consciousness, concentration of mind, meditation, the two senses, object of recollection, etc., are treated systematically in the *Dhammasaṅgani*. The *Kathāvatthu* may easily be consulted by him in its English rendering known as the *Points of Controversy*, if he does not know Pālī. It is a very important Buddhist book of debate on matters of philosophy and theology. The *Puggalapaññatti* deals with *puggala* or individuality. Such topics as these—whether a person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, etc.—have been sufficiently dealt with in this book. The *Yamaka* deals with the *āyatana*s, noble truths, three *saṃkhāra*s, ignorance, passion for existence, etc. The *Paṭṭhāna* which is another important *Abhidhamma* book has good discussions

on causal relation, co-nascence, action, result, meditation, consequence, controlling faculty, etc. Mr. Das Gupta is specially requested to read these books before making any such mis-statement.

In pages 14 and 15 of his book he has made a confusion between Sanskrit and Pali words. He has failed to state correctly the titles of texts, e.g., *Dirghanikāya*, *Thera* or *Therāgāthā*, *Piṭṭhānapakaraṇa*, *Dharmasaṅgaṇi*. The correct titles are the following: *Dighanikāya*, *Thera-Therāgāthā*, *Paṭṭhānapakaraṇa*, and *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. The *Cariyāpiṭaka* is not the *Buddhacarita* as Mr. Das Gupta has written. It means a basket of conduct or daily duties. *Cariyā* means conduct or daily duties performed by a Bodhisatta to fulfil the ten perfections (*pāramitās*) which are absolutely necessary for the attainment of *bodhi*. This text shows the effectiveness of the good conduct of the Teacher in his former births. *Piṭaka* is used in the sense of division according to the commentator (*Bhājanattho pi hi Piṭaka-saddo niddiṭṭho*). The *Cariyāpiṭaka* contains verses on the Buddha perfections. Some have translated it as a collection of Buddha's meritorious acts. In page 14 Mr. Das Gupta has said nothing about *Niddesa*. He seems to be ignorant about it. Under the *Niddesa* we have the *Mahā* and *Culla*. The *Mahāniddesa* contains references to many miscellaneous matters, e.g., four kinds of slaves, four kinds of friends, various diseases, classification of men, various doctrines and various religious beliefs (for details, vide my *History of Pali Literature*, I, 280 ff.). The *Cullaniddesa* deals in the first place with all the sections of the *Pārāyanavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*, and in the second place with the *Khagga-visāṇasutta* of the *Uragavagga* of the *Suttanipāta*. The *Niddesa* consists chiefly in the interpretation of each word, e.g. *muni*, *kāma*, *sikkhā*, *bhikkhu*, *ogha*, *kusala*, *loka*, etc. This interpretation is repeated at every place where the word is found in the text, and is literally the same throughout. (For further details vide my *History of Pali Literature*, I, 278 ff.). The *Paṭisambhidāmagga* has been wrongly described by Mr. Das Gupta. It is a book dealing with the powers of intuitive insight possessed by Buddhist *arhats*, as rightly pointed out by T. W. Rhys Davids in his book on *Buddhism* (new and revised edition, p. 19). In my *History of Pali Literature*, I have said that in essence the book is wholly Abhidhammic, and it describes how an analytical knowledge can be acquired by a saint (*arahat*). The treatment of the various subjects is essentially scholastic in character. In page 14 Mr. Das Gupta has written that the *Anguttara Nikāya* is a collection of various *sūtras*. As a matter of fact almost all the *nikāyas* are the collections of *suttas*. The *Anguttara Nikāya* is a collection characterized by numerous groupings of *Dhammas* arranged serially in an ascending order. It applies on a comprehensive scale to the numerical scheme of mnemonics as enunciated in the *Kumārappāṇha*. This art has also been tried in the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*. All the *suttas* grouped in the successive numerical sections have bearings on a twofold Vinaya, namely, the *Bhikkhu Vinaya* and the *Gahapati Vinaya*. (For a fuller discussion, vide my *History of Pali Literature*, I, 191 ff.). Mr. Das Gupta ought to have taken much care in disclosing the 'Svarūpa' of Pali Tripiṭaka.

In page 32 Mr. Das Gupta says that there is a reference to Lālha or West Bengal in one of the Jātakas (Jāt. I, p. 447). There is no such reference in the said Jātaka in which occurs the word *lālamāṇavo* meaning a dull young Brahmin. I must invite the attention of the learned author to the serious mistake committed by him. Can he find out any reference to Lālha in the whole Jātaka book? He will surely be disappointed.

In page 53 he has wrongly quoted the verse from Yamakami's *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p. 16. Mr. Das Gupta has drawn his materials regarding Candragomin without due acknowledgement, from Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, pp. 334-35. He has rendered into Bengali some of the passages of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa. This will be evident if we care to read the pages 334-35 of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's work and pp. 59-64 of Mr. Das Gupta's book. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa differs from Mr. Das Gupta in pointing out that there was another

Candragomin, called Candragomin the senior, who went to Ceylon and on his way back found in Southern India in the house of Vararuci Patañjali's Bhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 334).

Regarding the date of Candragomin Dr. Vidyābhūṣana says that he must have lived in 700 A.D., which date does not tally with that given by Mr. Das Gupta in page 64. Mr. Das Gupta ought to have consulted a very interesting article entitled 'La Date de Candragomin,' Hanoi, 1903, p. 25 (S. Levi, *Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde*, No. III). Eliot points out that Candragomin founded the Buddhist school of Logic in Bengal which lasted almost until the Mahommedan conquest (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, 95). In page 89 of the book under review Mr. Das Gupta seems to have made an erroneous statement regarding the conception of Śiva Buddha in Java. Eliot distinctly points out that this conception was popular in Java (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, 181). Mr. Das Gupta's use of the word *nyūnādhiḥa* in this connection is misleading.

In page 237 of Mr. Das Gupta's book we find that Sir Charles Eliot (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 113, referred to by Mr. Das Gupta) has given 1450 A.D. as the date of Caṅgalarāja and not 1448 A.D. as stated by Mr. Das Gupta. In the same page he has quoted Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, page 134 in support of his statement that the old and dilapidated monasteries of Bodh Gaya were repaired and rebuilt. Kern does not exactly write this in his book. He mentions the ruined monasteries and the terrace of the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya, the latter portion being omitted by Mr. Das Gupta.

In page 195 of Mr. Das Gupta's book we are not prepared to accept the view expressed by him regarding the Middle Path. Just to avoid the two extremes the Buddha preferred the Middle Path. The two extremes were: (1) The method of attaining salvation by thoughtless indulgence in the affairs of lust (*Kāmesukāmasukhallikānuyoga*) and (2) the method of attaining salvation by the rigorous practice of self-mortification (*attakilamathānuyoga*). The thoughtless indulgence in the affairs of lust is the way of the common run of men, and the rigorous practice of self-mortification is the traditional way of the extreme type of ascetics. The first kind of life is illustrated in the *Ariyapariyesana sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 160, by the life lived by the Bodhisatta as prince Siddhārtha. The second kind of life is exemplified in the *Mahāśhanāda sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, pp. 68 ff. by the life lived by the Bodhisatta as an Acela or Ājīvika after he had renounced the world. For further details vide my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. V. The Buddha was never an extremist and he advised his disciples to accept *majjhimāpaṭipadā* to get rid of suffering.

As regards the explanation of *Addhayoga* (p. 196) it would have been better for the author to refer to P.T.S. Dictionary, p. 17, where it is distinctly written that the interpretation, 'a gold-coloured Bengal house', is not correct. '*Suvaṇṇa Vaṅageham*' should be read as '*supaṇṇa vaṅkageham*' like a Garuda bird's crooked wing, i.e. when the roof is bent on one side. Mr. Das Gupta has used the word *Addhayoga* several times, which is wrong. It should be *Addhayoga*. Mr. Das Gupta writes in page 197 that a Vihāra means a particular room for a particular *bhikkhu* and he has quoted in support of his statement the *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* (I, 25, 14) and the *Vinaya-Cullavagga* (II, 1, 2). This meaning is not at all found in these texts. I must request Mr. Das Gupta to verify once again the references quoted by him and correct himself.

This book will be welcome, if the author takes particular care in correcting all these errors in the second edition. He has given a list of *errata* at the end but there are many more mistakes which have escaped his notice. As for example, Ch. XXIII of the *Dīvyāvadāna* in page 36 (F.N.) should be chap. XXVIII. In page 7 *Vesālīkā Vajjiputtakā bhikkhave* is correct but not *Vesālīkā Vajjiputtakā bhikkha* as erroneously stated by Mr. Das Gupta. In page 8 *Ācariyavāda* is correct but not *Acariyavāda*. The book contains some good illustrations and a serviceable index. The list of *errata* is incomplete.

BHĀRATIYĀ VIDYĀ, Volume IX, 1948. Published by the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1949. Price Rupees Fifteen only.

The issue of the learned journal before us forms the first part of the Diamond Jubilee Volume in honour of Śrī K. M. Munshi, a prominent politician, scholar and educationist of our time, and one of the creators of the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan. It comprises thirty articles in all, which cover a wide range of subjects, namely, religion, mythology, philosophy, art, literature, science, epigraphy, history and politics. To enter into the merit of each and every article, coming from the pen of a specialist, is obviously beyond the capacity of a single reviewer. A perusal of the articles shows that many of them are interesting and some are informative as well. Attention may be drawn to the dissertations of Dr. V. M. Apte (Is Diti in the Rg Veda a mere reflex of Aditi?), Prof. H. C. Bhayani (Abdala Rahamāna's *Samdeśarāsaka* [the first known Muslim contribution to Indian literature] and Jayasi's *Padumāvati*), Dr. E. G. Carpani (Psychology of Dream-Phenomena of Vedic Philosophy), Dr. S. K. De (The Curtain in Ancient Indian Theatre), Prof. M. Eliade (Sapta Padāni Kramati—a highly interesting study), Prof. P. G. Dumont (A Note on *Mahābhārata*, I, 224. 12), Prof. Jagan Nath (Epigraphic Notes), MM. P. V. Kane (The Problem of the Introduction of Rāsis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology). The last date for Skandagupta, A.D. 480 [p. 311] is clearly wrong), Dr. B. C. Law (Slavery as known to Early Buddhists), and Dr. G. P. Majumdar (Genesis of the Science of Medicine in Ancient India). The attempt of Śrī S. L. Katre (Harisvāmin, the Commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: A Protégé of Vikramāditya, the great, of tradition: His date—c. 54 B.C.) to prove the existence of a historical Vikramāditya on the basis of a date found in the colophon of a very late copy of Harisvāmin's commentary on the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which itself admits of different interpretation, can hardly be regarded as conclusive or even satisfactory. Sardar M. V. Kibe's theory (The Historical Facts of the Personality and Reign of Vikramāditya) that Skandagupta flourished in 58 B.C. and was identical with the traditional Vikramāditya is based on unwarrantable evidence, and is absolutely absurd. The attention of Śrī A. S. Gadre (The Kaṭacchuris in Western India) may be drawn to the fact that Bhogavardhana of inscriptions has been identified with Bhokardan, in the Aurangabad District, Nizam's Dominions.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

HISTORY OF SRI VIJAYA, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. Published by the University of Madras, 1949. Price not stated.

This book is a collection of lectures delivered by the author under the Sir William Meyer Foundation (attached to the University of Madras) for the year 1946-47. Śrījuktā Śāstri's contributions in the domain of South Indian History is well known. His own countrymen in days past took a preponderating share in the colonial and commercial activities of the Indians in the Far East; it is therefore quite in the fitness of things that he should have selected a topic for his lectures which has an abiding interest for his modern compatriots. The material for the reconstruction of the History of Śrī Vijaya is indeed scanty, and its correct interpretation is far from easy. As a consequence most diverse opinions have been expressed on certain points of major interest relating to this subject, e.g. the original location of Śrī Vijaya, the course of events leading to its rise, its relation with Java and Sumatra, the nature of Śailendra occupation of Śrī Vijaya, etc. Śrījuktā Śāstri has pieced together every bit of information that has been made available up to date, subjected it to detailed examination, and has tried to

reconstruct a coherent story of the rise and fall of this famous kingdom founded by the Indians in the Malaysian world. Sound judgment and balanced conclusion characterize the researches of Śrījuktā Śāstri, and he has applied these qualities to a high degree in this new venture of his. Differences of opinion on controversial points are bound to remain. For example, one may not still agree with the author's contention (pp. 29-30) that the Kedukan Bukit inscription of A.D. 683 refers to a military expedition against Malāyu itself. The fact that only one-eighth of the army ($2,312 + 200 = 2,512$ souls) out of a total of 20,000 men accompanied the king to that place, taken together with the absence of any reference to a major victory in course of the journey, lends colour to the view of Coedès that the record simply commemorates a pilgrimage to a sacred spot undertaken to ensure success for the people of Śrī Vijaya on the eve of a military enterprise (*Śrīvijaya jayasiddhayaīrā*). But throughout the book the author has thrown out many thought-provoking suggestions. Attention may be drawn in this connection to his discussions of the problem of the original seat of Śrī Vijaya (31 ff.), the origin of the Sailendras (46 ff.), their relation with Sumatra (50 ff.), and finally the relation of the Cholas with Śrī Vijaya (Sec. V). The Note on the New Finds in Sambas (110 ff.) is highly interesting, and scholars of Indian history should note the view of Sir Roland Braddell (quoted by our author), that 'the island of Malaysia which Fahien visited on his voyage from India was not Java as is usually believed, but Borneo' (110). A few mistakes have unfortunately crept in into the book—apparently due to oversight, e.g. Gaudadvīpa for Gaudidvīpa (pp. 45, 57). For the correct reading see p. 124. Both the terms are of course taken to refer to the same region and c. 949 A.D. as the date for the Nalanda C.P. Inscription of the time of Devapāla (the correct date will be found on p. 55). The main story has been prefaced with an excellent background of the beginnings of Indian colonization in the Far East. The Appendix dealing with relevant epigraphic records, a detailed bibliography, the index, illustrations and maps have greatly contributed to the value of the book. We welcome it as an addition to our collection of not too many books on the subject of Indian colonization written in English.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

A HISTORY OF MAITHILI LITERATURE, Vol. I (Early and Middle Periods),
by Dr. Jayakanta Mishra, Lecturer, Allahabad University, Allahabad, 1949.
Pages 472.

It is a laudable attempt on the part of the author to deal with Maithili literature. Maithili is undoubtedly one of the important Indian languages. In the first part of his book he has written chapters on *Mithilā* and her people, and the Maithili language and scripts. The second part is devoted to early Maithili literature. The author has ably dealt with the antiquity of Maithili literature, the date of the celebrated poet Vidyāpati, and the contemporaries and successors of Vidyāpati (*circa* 1400 to *circa* 1700 A.D.). The third part treats of Middle Maithili literature. His chapters on Maithili dramas of Nepal and the Kirtaniya drama of Mithilā are well written. Equally interesting are his chapters on Maithili drama in Assam and the mediaeval Maithili prose and poetry. The author has taken great care and caution to tackle the subject intelligently and conscientiously. We welcome the book under review as a pioneer work, which, I believe, will be well received by scholars interested in Indian languages and literature. The only drawback is that there is no useful index which, we hope, will be supplied in the second edition.

B. C. LAW.

OBITUARY

We are sorry to record here the death news of one of the ablest Indologists of Europe, **Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham**, who was very much interested in the history and geography of Ancient India. His valuable researches in this field will long be remembered by us. He was an Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* for several years. As an useful member of the Indian Civil Service he after retirement did enough for Indological studies. Even in his old age he never severed his connection with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which was greatly indebted to him in manifold ways. He died at the age of eighty.

We are equally sorry to lose one of our co-editors, **Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh**, whose premature death at the age of forty-five is a great loss to linguistic studies, and especially to the *Indian Culture*. His valuable researches will bear ample evidence of his sound knowledge and critical judgment.

We pray for the peace of both the departed souls.

D. R. Bhandarkar

While this volume is in course of printing, we are shocked to hear that our co-editor, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, is no more in this world. *Indian Culture* will no doubt receive a great setback in his death. A few months back another co-editor, Dr. Bata Krishna Ghosh, met with the same fate. Dr. Bhandarkar was the Founder-editor of this Journal and he was closely connected with it up to the end of his mortal existence and helped it in various ways.

Dr. Bhandarkar was born on the 19th November, 1875, in a cultured family of Mahārāṣṭra, being one of the sons of the veteran orientalist Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. He was educated at the Deccan College, Poona. He was the Bhagwandas Purushottam Das Sanskrit Scholar of the University of Bombay in the year 1900. He served the University of Bombay as the Pundit Bhagwanlal Indraji Lecturer for 1903; the Benares Hindu University as the Manindra Chandra Nundy Lecturer for 1925; the Madras University as Sir William Meyer Lecturer for 1938-39; and the University of Calcutta as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture from 1917 to 1935. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and a corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. He was a member of the Senate of the University of Calcutta for

some time. He won the most coveted Sir James Campbell Gold Medal in 1911 from the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, and the Dr. B. C. Law Gold Medal from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Before he joined the University of Calcutta as the Carmichael Professor, he was attached to the Archaeological Survey of India from 1911 to 1917. From 1917 to 1920, he was the Officer-in-charge of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum since 1917. He was an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was elected President of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad in 1938. He was the Joint Editor of the *Indian Antiquary* since 1911.

He was undoubtedly a great scholar and a successful teacher. As an administrator, his reputation was very great and he used to manage his Department with great skill.

Among his important publications the following may be mentioned:

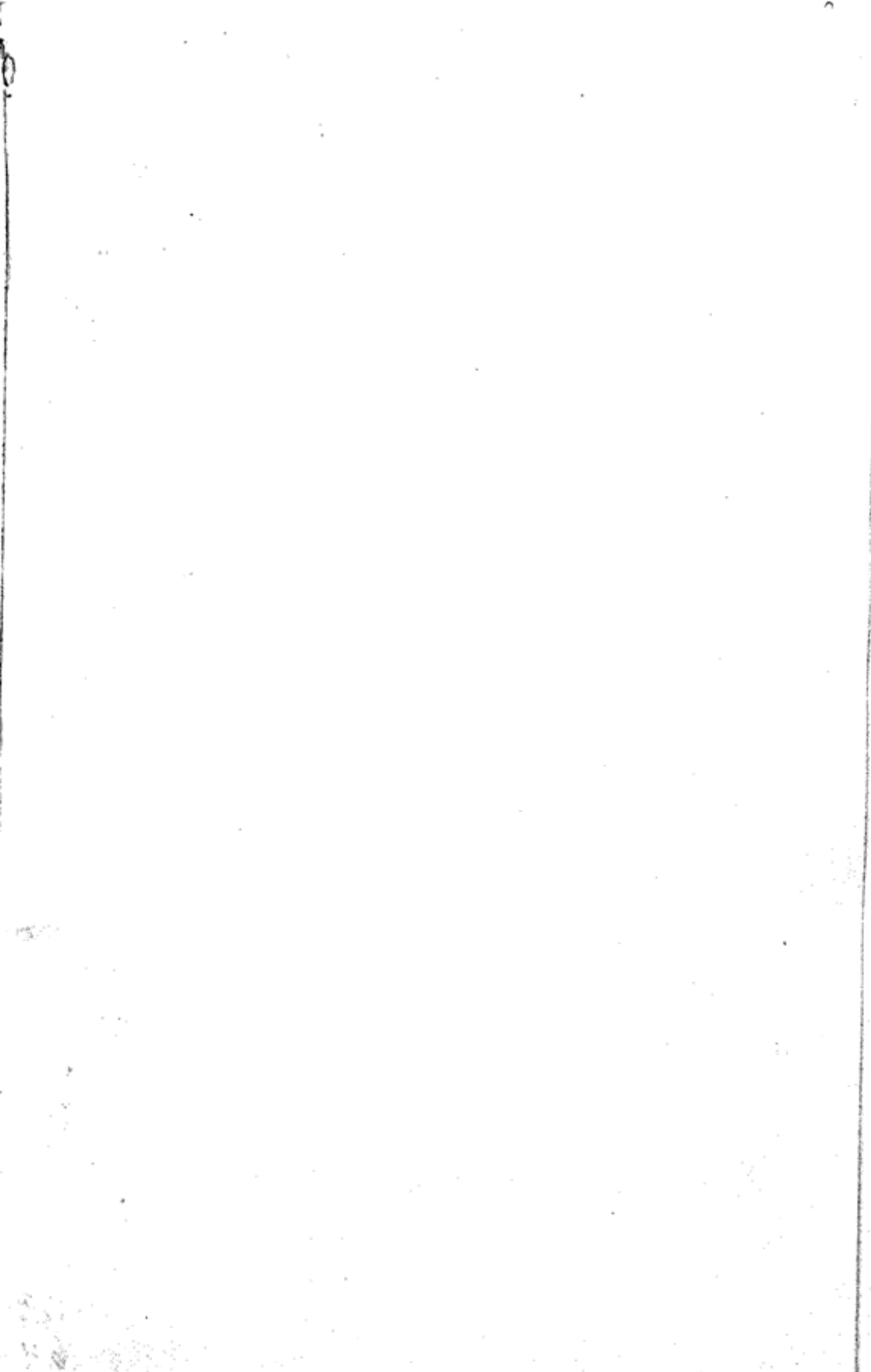
Carmichael Lectures, 1918; *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921; *Asoka*; *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*; *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*; *Origin of the Saka era*; *Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population* and the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle. He was engaged in bringing out the Second Edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. Besides, he contributed many thoughtful papers to numerous well-known journals. He was in the habit of welcoming honest criticisms of his publications and he was never angry with the critics, if their criticisms were just and found acceptable.

Although he was vastly learned, he never made a parade of his learning. He was amiable in his disposition and was free from self-conceit. He was ever ready to help and encourage young and energetic workers with his valuable guidance and suggestions. *Indian Culture* has now lost for ever his invaluable advice and assistance, which he rendered from time to time even in his failing health. We pray to God for the peace of the departed soul.

B. C. LAW.



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